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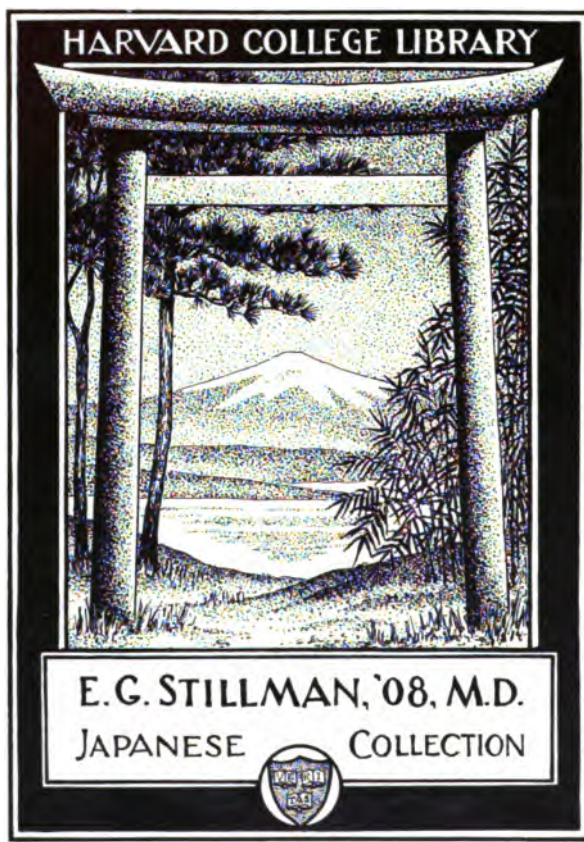
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The Psychology of Oriental Religious Experience

**A STUDY OF SOME TYPICAL EXPERIENCES
OF JAPANESE CONVERTS TO
CHRISTIANITY**

A THESIS

**PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY OF
ARTS AND LITERATURE
THE GRADUATE DIVINITY SCHOOL
(RELIGIOUS EDUCATION)**

BY

KATSUJI KATO

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ANALYSIS

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ORIENTAL RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE :

A STUDY OF SOME TYPICAL EXPERIENCES OF JAPANESE CONVERTS

TO CHRISTIANITY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. THE STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Individuality in ethnic as well as in personal experience seems to have been recognized by various writers in the psychology of religion. Thus, after a detailed and original study of the religious experience of some remarkable individuals, James was forced to raise an important question as to individuality in religious experience: "Ought it to be assumed that in all men the mixture of religion with other elements should be identical? Ought it, indeed, to be assumed that the lives of all men should show identical religious elements? In other words, is the existence of many religious types and sects and creeds regrettable?"¹ To this question he offers a decidedly negative answer, for he has found at least two opposing temperaments involved in the psychological analysis of the religious consciousness. With reference to the child's capacity for religion, Ladd says, "Tribal and racial differences appear, although in a somewhat vague and baffling way, as we study the subject from the points of view of ethnology and comparative psychology. Indeed, the capacity for religion is a function of race-culture; and race-culture is itself profoundly modified by the degree and kind of religious development which, at any particular time, enter into it."² The same motive is voiced in Tawney's suggestion of two lines of investigation as to the time of conversion, *vis.*, first, an elaborate series of investigations carried out in different lands among persons of different religious belief for the purpose of comparing the religious experiences of people in different countries, climates and civilization; and secondly, a series of investigations carried out by teachers and ministers of different persuasions in Christian countries for the purpose of determining the times, the conditions and the nature of conversions to Christianity, and to other types of religious conviction.³ Baldwin also argues for the neces-

¹ *Varieties of Religious Experiences*, London, 1902, pp. 486 f.

² *The Child and Religion*, edited by Th. Stephens, New York, 1905, p. 150. Cf. also J. R. Angell: *Chapters from Modern Psychology*, New York, 1912, p. 237.

³ G. A. Tawney: "The Period of Conversion," *Psychol. Rev.*, Vol. XI, pp. 210-216.

sity of studying the variety as well as the unity of religious experience;⁴ and such studies as given by Begbie⁵ are important contributions to the psychology of religion in this respect. From the unanimous opinions of these writers it seems evident that a clear understanding of the psychological grounds for the existence of individuality aids us materially in explaining many perplexing problems both theoretical and practical.

The mind of man, wherever we happen to meet it, manifests uniform possibilities and is practically the same in its essential nature, and yet the physical and social factors of a race mould its mentality in the matrix peculiar to itself as distinguished from that of other races. The characteristics thus brought into prominence may be designated as "ethnic individuality" which usually forms the basis of all scientific discussion pertaining to any given race and furnishes us with the point of departure in our attempt to analyse any human behavior religious or otherwise. Thus, M. Taine,⁶ in his psychological interpretation of English literature, was compelled to begin his treatise with the ethnic traits of the Saxons, as determined by their geographical and atmospheric conditions, and the same motive defines the problem of the present thesis. We aim at the psychological interpretation of the phenomenon of conversion and various phases of religious experience attendant upon it, as seen in a group of arbitrarily selected Japanese Christians who, in many cases, had been brought up in a non-Christian environment. Our attempt is, therefore, intended to be a contribution to the general subject of the variety of religious experience and its bearing upon a few practical problems.

That such an investigation is imperative both from the standpoint of the theoretical psychology of religion on the one hand, and that of the practical problems of missions and religious education on the other, needs no elaboration. The failure to recognize the importance of the problem has led many students of comparative religion to unnecessary confusion and inadequate generalization; and the disregard of its principles in the practical propaganda of the Christian religion has caused many missionaries to wonder at their meagerly rewarded earnestness.⁷

⁴ J. M. Baldwin: *Fragments in Philosophy and Science*, New York, 1902, p. 327.

⁵ Harold Begbie: *Twice-Born Man*, New York, 1909; *In the Hand of the Potter*, New York, 1911; etc.

⁶ H. A. Taine: *History of English Literature*, translated into English by H. Van Lann, 1873, pp. 33ff.

⁷ One of the acutest critics has the following statement, significantly pointing out the fact in question: "One cause of the failure of mission work is that most of the missionaries are entirely ignorant of our history—'What do we care for heathen records' some say—and consequently estrange their religion from the habits of thought we and our forefathers have been accustomed to for centuries past. Mocking a nation's history?—as though the career of any people—even of the lowest African savage possessing no record—were not a page in the general history of mankind, written by the hand of God himself. The very lost races are a palimpsest to be deciphered by a seeing eye. To a philosophic and pious mind the races them-

But the saddest of all shortcomings is that many goodly teachers of Christianity, whether professional or voluntary, are woefully ignorant of the real situation and, by imparting the Christian truths in ways obviously unpedagogic, are leading the young into useless labyrinths of exotic dogmas and creeds. Such a situation should no longer be tolerated now that we have every reason to believe that religious education has some valid principles and methods—not a cluster of sophisticated aphorisms, but a decidedly scientific and pragmatic formulation which can be utilized to advantage in the practice of religious education.

2. THE METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

The materials that form the bases of our study were accumulated partly from a series of private, confidential conversations carried out between the writer and the subjects, and partly from the biographies and confessions either in print or written upon request. The fact that the materials to which we had access are comparatively limited in number and therefore the conclusions that are drawn therefrom are tentative rather than absolute, needs perhaps no apology. We are to contribute only a portion to that great field of comparative psychology of religious experience. The published biographies and confessions are, with the exceptions of Nos. 7, 10, 11, 13, 14 and 15, printed in the Japanese language, and the present writer is responsible for all the translation into English. The following is the list of our subjects:

1. Taro Ando, president Japan Temperance Union, who relates the story of his conversion in a small pamphlet entitled, "My Conversion Experience in Hawaii," Tokyo, 1910, rev. ed.

2. Kaku Imai, formerly a Buddhist priest, now a Baptist minister in Tokyo, who gives his experience in "Why I Left Buddhism and Became a Christian," Tokyo, Christian Literature Society of Japan, 1914.

3. Tomijiro Kobayashi, a Christian manufacturer, whose conversion experience is given by N. Kato in: *The Life of Tomijiro Kobayashi*, Tokyo, 1911.

4. Torasaburo Koki, a Congregational minister: *Christian World*, No. 1180.

selves are marks of Divine chirography clearly traced in black and white as on their skin; and if this simile holds good, the yellow races form a precious page inscribed in hieroglyphics of gold! Ignoring the past career of a people, missionaries claim that Christianity is a new religion, whereas, to my mind, it is an 'old, old story,' which, if presented in intelligible words,—that is to say, if presented in the vocabulary familiar to the moral development of a people,—will find easy lodgment in their hearts, irrespective of race or nationality." Inazo Nitobe: *Bushido, The Soul of Japan*, 11th ed., New York, 1900, pp. 179 f.

5. Y. Hiraiwa, Bishop of Japan Methodist Churches: *Christian World*, No. 1183.

6. Mrs. Hirooka, whose article on her conversion is translated by Susan Ballard in *The East and the West*, Vol. X (1912), pp. 306 f.

7. Hiromichi Kozaki, a Congregational minister, whose experience is printed in a Japanese pamphlet, "My Experiences of Twenty-five Years," Tokyo, 1905.

8. Shunkichi Murakami: *Christian World*, No. 1183.

9. Yasutaro Naide, an Episcopalian rector: *Christian World*, No. 1180.

10. Joseph Hardy Neesima, founder and first president Doshisha University, whose religious experience is reported by his colleague, J. D. Davis: *A Maker of New Japan*, 1894. Also A. S. Hardy: *Life and Letters of J. H. Neesima*, Boston, 1892.

11. Paul Sawayama, a Congregational minister, whose conversion is written by J. Naruse in *Modern Paul in Japan. An Account of the Life and Work of the Rev. Paul Sawayama*, Tokyo, 1893.

12. Ushio Sugita, a Congregational minister: *Christian World*, No. 1180.

13. Kanzo Uchimura, editor of *The Biblical Study*, Tokyo: *How I Became a Christian*, Tokyo, 1910. Also *The Diary of a Japanese Convert*, New York, 1893.

14. K. Yamamoto, secretary Tokyo Y. M. C. A., whose statement is reported by John DeForest in *The Sunrise in the Sunrise Kingdom*, rev. ed., New York, 1909, p. 171.

15. Heishiro Yokoi, a scholar, whose experience is described by W. E. Griffis in the *Homiletic Review*, Vol. LIX, pp. 352 ff.

The above is the list of the printed biographies and confessions, but the following are the subjects who have contributed to our study by verbal statements supplemented by their own writings to insure accuracy of thought and its expression:

16. S. M., 29 years, a college student. Graduated from a Methodist academy in Japan, and a teacher of English for four years before coming to America.

17. K. Y., 28 years, a theological student. Graduated from an American high school and a college.

18. S. T., 32 years, once a newspaper editor.

19. M. H., 28 years, a college student. Graduated from English Department of Doshisha University.

20. Y. B., 28 years, a theological student. Graduated from a mission school in Japan.

21. T. U., 31 years, a college student. Once a government official and a teacher for six years.

22. T. H., a theological student.

23. M. Ka., 25 years, a college student.

24. K. W., 27 years, a student in dentistry. Graduated from an agricultural college in Japan.

25. K. T., 29 years, a college student. Graduated from an American high school.

26. H. S., 32 years, a theological student. Graduated from a mission school in Japan and a teacher for eight years.

27. Y. I., 24 years, a college student. Graduated from a mission school; worked in a bank for two years.

28. S. S., 32 years, a theological student. Graduated from a mission school in Japan; assisted Japanese Y. M. C. A. work in Hawaii; an evangelist among Japanese in California.

29. Y. O., a theological student.

30. R. H., a theological student. Graduated from an American university.

31. M. K., a college student.

32. H. T., 23 years, a preparatory student. Graduated from a grammar school in America.

33. K. M., 26 years, a college student.

34. Sh. Mu., 25 years, a theological student. Graduated from a mission school in Japan.

35. M. S., 36 years, social and religious worker. Graduated from a mission school in Japan, and from an American theological seminary.

3. A SURVEY OF THE FIELD

Before we enter upon the main discussion, it is necessary to review briefly the results of the previous investigators and thinkers on the general subject of religious conversion. The literature, however, is chiefly concerned with the ordinary conversion process, either sudden or gradual, and not particularly with its comparative or ethnic aspect. With the exception of a few writers on comparative religion, our problem has not been worked out adequately from a psychological point of view.⁸

⁸ The religious experience in general, chiefly based upon oriental materials, has been treated by some psychologists. The latest example is that of G. M. Stratton: *Psychology of the Religious Life*, New York, 1912. A more or less popular treatment of the subject is abundant in missionary literature. For bibliography, consult W. I. Thomas: *Source Book for the Social Origins*, Chicago, 1909; also Bibliography in *Students and the World-Wide Expansion of Christianity* (Kansas City Convention Report of the Student Volunteer Movement, 1914), pp. 671, 696.

As to the history of the psychology of conversion as such, we need not go into its details.⁹ The fact of conversion is, perhaps, as old as race itself, as may be seen clearly from the religious practices now still extant among primitive peoples, indicative of this interesting phenomenon.¹⁰ Among the ancients, we possess the records of their conversion experiences in the writings of Lucretius, Augustine, Justin Martyr, Constantine the Great, Jesus Christ, Buddha, Paul, and many others,¹¹ and more recently we find the cases of John Bunyan, John Newton, Jonathan Edwards and others.¹² The numerous cases of conversion phenomena have hitherto been mainly interpreted by philosophers and theologians from metaphysical and ontological points of view.¹³

The study of conversion from a purely psychological standpoint is comparatively a new phase in the history of religions, for as late as in the year 1896, Leuba writes: "It is true that a great deal of historical and philosophical work bearing on the religious problem has been done during the past decades, but no researches, from the standpoint of modern psychology, on the subjective phenomena of religious life have appeared."¹⁴ It is with the work of Leuba, stimulated perhaps by G. Stanley Hall, that we can directly trace the beginning of the psychological study of conversion.¹⁵ His first article appeared in 1896, in which he

⁹ For history, consult J. B. Pratt: "The Psychology of Religion," *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Vol. I, pp. 430 ff.; E. S. Ames: *The Psychology of Religious Experience*, pp. 3 ff.; and F. G. Peabody: "History of the Psychology of Religion," *Unitarian Rev.*, Vol. XIV (1880), pp. 97-109, and 193-211.

¹⁰ Cf. article by A. H. Daniels: "The New Life: A Study of Regeneration," *Am. Journ. of Psychol.* Vol. VI, pp. 61-106. Some accounts of conversion are found in the Old Testament, viz., Job, Jacob, Samuel, Isaiah. The contention of Carlyle is more literary than scientific. He says, "Blame not the word (conversion); rejoice rather that such a word, signifying such a thing, has come to light in our modern Era, though hidden from the wisest Ancients. The Old World knew nothing of Conversion; instead of an Ecce Homo, they had only some Choice of Hercules. It was a new-attained progress in the Moral Development of man: hereby has the Highest come home to the bosom of the most limited; what to Plato was but a hallucination, and to Socrates a chimera, is now clear and certain to your Zinsendorf, your Wesleys, and the poorest of their Pietists and Methodists." *Sartor Resartus*, Bk. ii, Ch. 10.

¹¹ Consult W. A. Heidel: "Die Bekehrung im klassischen Altertum, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Lucretius," *Zeits. f. Rel.-Psy.*, Bd. III (1910), S. 377-402. Conversion of Church Fathers is given by James Stalker: "Studies in Conversion," *Expositor*, Vol. VII (7th Series), pp. 118-125, 322-333, 521-534; Vol. I (8th Series), pp. 549-561; Vol. II (8th Series), pp. 52-61, 173-182. Cf. also article "Conversion" by J. Strachan, *Encyc. of Rel. and Ethics*, Vol. IV.

¹² The actual cases are collected by J. H. Leuba: "A Study in the Psychology of Religious Phenomena," *Am. Journ. of Psychol.*, Vol. VII, pp. 309-385. Also W. James: *Varieties of Religious Experience*, London, 1902.

¹³ E. g., Pfleiderer: *The Philosophy of Religion*, Vol. IV, p. 128; *Theological Writings of Benjamin Jowett*, edited by L. Campbell, New York, 1902, pp. 239 ff.

¹⁴ "A Study in the Psychology of Religious Phenomena," *Loc. cit.*, p. 310.

¹⁵ Prior to the appearance of this article, there were three articles which might be regarded as being in the field of the psychology of conversion. These are: G. S. Hall: "The Moral and Religious Training of Children," *Princeton Rev.*, N. S., Vol. IX (1882), pp. 20-45; W. H. Burnham: "A Study of Adolescence," *Ped. Sem.*, Vol. I (1891), pp. 174-195; and A. H. Daniels: "The New Life: A Study in Regeneration," *Am. Journ. of Psychol.*, Vol. VI (1895), pp. 61-193.

studied empirically the experience prior to conversion and the crisis and the mental state subsequent to such a change.¹⁶ Starbuck published his book on conversion in 1899, in which he expressed his conclusion as to the psychological view of conversion.¹⁷ In another connection he made the statement that "much depended upon temperament",¹⁸ and this has been elaborated by Coe who shows that there is a great individual variation, due primarily to temperamental difference.¹⁹ In the Gifford Lectures at Edinburgh in 1902, James has a lengthy account of conversion, and his psychological explanation is chiefly found in the theory of the subconscious, which to his mind is the sole avenue of human fellowship with God.²⁰ This view of James, however, is combated by Prince who bases his criticism on the change of personality observed in the case of Miss B., which closely resembles that of Ratisbonne, of which James makes mention.²¹ Ribot admits the subconscious element in conversion and his conclusion emphasizes what he calls the inversion of values.²² Granger comes to the conclusion that "conversion is, in its essence, a change of intention; and this may be directed either upon intellectual or upon moral objects."²³ The nature of conversion produced in the emotional subjects is explained by Murisier on the basis of imitation, after a preparation which consists in increasing the suggestibility of the subject.²⁴ The phenomena of conversion and revival are exhaustively studied by Davenport, and his conclusion is that conversion is more incidental than purposive, and that the cases of the so-called lapsed, the backsliders, those who have fallen from grace, are simply the victims of powerful force of suggestion and imitation, and the conversion of these people is not to be taken very seriously.²⁵ Somewhat different from the conclusions of Granger and Davenport is the contention of Pratt who regards conversion as taking place spontaneously

¹⁶ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁷ *The Psychology of Religion*, pp. 156 ff. The parts of this work had previously appeared in *Am. Journ. of Psychol.*, Vols. VIII and IX.

¹⁸ *Am. Journ. of Psychol.*, Vol. IX, p. 110.

¹⁹ *The Spiritual Life: Studies in the Science of Religion*, New York, 1900, pp. 109-150.

²⁰ *Varieties of Religious Experience*, London, 1902, pp. 236-237.

²¹ "The Psychology of Sudden Religious Conversion," *Journ. of Abnorm. Psychol.*, Vol. I, pp. 52-54. This view of James is also criticized by Irving King: "The Differentiation of the Religious Consciousness," *Psychol. Rev. Monog. Suppl.*, Vol. V, No. 4. The operation of the supernatural factor in the subconscious has been denied by Peirce, Jastrow, and Hall.

²² *La logique des sentiments*, Paris, 1905, pp. 85 ff.

²³ *The Soul of a Christian: A Study of the Religious Experience*, New York, 1900, p. 77.

²⁴ *Les maladies du sentiment religieux*, Paris, 1901.

²⁵ *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals*, p. 246.

and independent of social pressure or even of imitation, and characterizes the process as "a new feeling of communion with a greater life which fills the mind and colors the entire field of consciousness."²⁶ A very lengthy treatment of the subject of conversion is given by G. Stanley Hall, in which it is viewed as purely spontaneous,—“a natural process of a higher order,” as Lipsius would say.²⁷ In France, Henri Bois of Montauban studied twenty-five or thirty conversions, from St. Paul to those of the nineteenth century, and showed how far theological beliefs would explain the experience of conversion.²⁸ Gaston Frommel of Geneva is said to have made some observations on the cases of Christian conversion.²⁹ Tawney agrees with James and Starbuck in the main by adhering to the idea of shifting of the center of gravity in the conversion experience.³⁰ The mechanism of conversion is explained by Näcke as the reinforcement of past memories by the sudden emotional experience, which is so powerful that it comes to the full focus of consciousness, submerging and inhibiting the previously existing ideas, thus completely shifting the point of view of the individual.³¹ Begbie, who studied the cases of sudden conversion among the London poor, adopts the Jamesian definition of conversion and says, “It produces not a change, but a revolution in character. It does not alter, it creates a new personality. The phrase ‘a new birth’ is not a rhetorical hyperbole, but a fact of the psychical Kingdom.”³² Cutten also agrees with James and insists on the difficulty of endeavoring to isolate it from the rest of the experience.³³ Galloway points out the all importance of feeling as a factor in religious conversion, but he links it to the ideational life.³⁴ Ames agrees with Starbuck in recognizing the three stages in the process of conversion, quite similar to those found in the case of a person working out a problem under intense pressure.³⁵ Cornelison thinks that conversion is an effect produced by natural causes, and is not, either in whole or in part, the product of direct supernatural agency,

²⁶ *The Psychology of Religious Belief*, New York, 1907, pp. 222 ff.

²⁷ *Adolescence*, Vol. II, pp. 349 ff.

²⁸ Reported by Jacques Kaltenbach: “Psychology of Religion in France,” *Am. Journ. of Rel. Psychol. and Educ.*, Vol. I, p. 92.

²⁹ Also reported by J. Kaltenbach, *Lec. cit.*

³⁰ “The Period of Conversion,” *Psychol. Rev.*, Vol. XI, pp. 211 ff.

³¹ “Zur Psychologie der plötzlichen Bekehrungen,” *Zeits. f. Rel.-Psy.*, Bd. I, S. 233 ff.

³² *Twice-Born Men*, New York, 1909, pp. 171.

³³ *The Psychological Phenomena of Christianity*, 1908, p. 235.

³⁴ *The Principles of Religious Development*, London, 1909, pp. 124 f.

³⁵ *The Psychology of Religious Experience*, Boston, 1910, pp. 258 ff.

is not a miracle in the soul.³⁶ Hocking says, "Conversion is in part at least the grasping of an idea; such an idea as can thereafter infuse itself with peaceful dominance through the system of conduct and belief."³⁷ The religious experience of St. Paul at the time of his conversion was studied by Royse who concludes that it was due to his hysterical nature;³⁸ and Gardiner explains it as being led up to by many experiences and thoughts, and not by sudden mental insight.³⁹ McDougall attributes the subconscious element in conversion to the experiences which have played upon consciousness in one's previous days, and which once formed essential factors in his knowledge, interest and character.⁴⁰ Insisting upon the same principle, Bavinck says, "Conversion which brings us into fellowship with God (*i. e.*, genuine regeneration) never happens immediately, but is always connected with representations and impressions which we have received at some time, shorter or longer, previously. It always takes place in connection with historical Christianity, which in one or another form exists before and without us, and now enters into harmony with our own soul."⁴¹ The importance of the previous experience in influencing the conversion experience is again emphasized in the case of Christ himself by Forrest.⁴²

The age of conversion has been a subject of investigation by many workers in religious psychology, although strictly speaking the enquiry is more physiological in nature than psychological. It, however, has an important relation to the problem of mental development in general, and consequently possesses some degree of pertinence. Lancaster found that out of 598 cases, 518 showed new religious inclination between the ages of 12 and 25, and mostly between the ages of 12 and 20.⁴³ His average age was 15.6 for boys, and 14.6 for girls. Gulick investigated the class of 526 officers of the Young Men's Christian Association in the United States and Canada, and found that 16.5 was the average age of conversion.⁴⁴ Starbuck studied the religious experiences of 776 graduates of Drew Theological Seminary, and found that the largest number was converted at 16, and the average age was 16.4.⁴⁵ Coe found the

³⁶ *Natural History of Religious Feeling*, New York, 1911, pp. 102 f.

³⁷ *The Meaning of God in Human Experience*, New Haven, 1912, p. 73.

³⁸ "The Psychology of Saul's Conversion," *Am. Journ. of Rel. Psychol. and Educ.*, Vol. II, pp. 148 f.

³⁹ *The Religious Experience of St. Paul*, New York, 1911, pp. 31 ff.

⁴⁰ *Psychology: The Study of Behavior*, New York, 1912, pp. 219 f.

⁴¹ *The Philosophy of Revelation*, Princeton Lectures, 1909, p. 238.

⁴² *The Christ of History and of Experience*, Edinburgh, 1897, p. 288.

⁴³ *Ped. Sem.*, Vol. V, p. 95.

⁴⁴ "Sex and Religion," *Association Outlook*, Dec. 1897, p. 54.

⁴⁵ *Am. Journ. of Psychol.*, Vol. IX, pp. 79 f.

average age of decisive religious awakening to be at 15.4 for 84 men and 164 for 272 members of Rock River Annual Conference.⁴⁶ Eby collected answers from over 1,500 believers as to the age and time of conversion and found the great majority of cases to occur between 10 and 25, and also more frequently and earlier in girls than in boys, although the maximum age in both is 14.⁴⁷ From these and other minor and less known results of investigations, we are led to think that conversion is decidedly an adolescent phenomenon. Nevertheless, it is also true that it is not a single and once-for-all act, but often repeats itself with the advance of years, as Strachan says, "Conversion plays too important a part to be exhausted in a single decision."⁴⁸ Conversion taking place in mature age has been recognized in many instances.⁴⁹

There is one more consideration before we leave this brief summary of the literature on conversion, and that is the fact of normal religious development. The investigations of conversion have chiefly been based on the sudden and striking cases. This is due to the fact that the gradual type cannot properly be called a conversion, as James would think, or else it is not novel enough to deserve any extended study. But it is commonly agreed that there are cases which show no sudden transformation of character and yet the religious experience is equally genuine and intense, and the facts and interpretations of sudden conversion are applicable to this type of slow, normal and steadfast religious development. James himself remarks, ". . . . they are as a rule less interesting than those of the self-surrender type, in which the subconscious effects are more abundant and often striking. . . . Even in the most voluntarily built-up sort of regeneration there are passages of partial self-surrender interposed;" ⁵⁰ The same note is sounded by Leuba, ". . . . in the main, the conclusions reached by the study of sudden conversion apply with equal exactitude to slowly progressing regenerations."⁵¹ Thus we are to understand that the same principle may be applied in explaining both the sudden and the gradual types of conversion.

⁴⁶ *The Spiritual Life*, pp. 43 ff.

⁴⁷ "Conversion in Relation to the Sunday School," *Baylor University Bull.*, Vol. X, No. 5 (1907).

⁴⁸ *Encyc. of Rel. and Ethics*, Vol. IV, p. 107. This fact is recognized by evangelists; e. g., John Watson: *The Inspiration of Our Faith*, pp. 77 ff.

⁴⁹ Romanes has a statement concerning this fact: *Thoughts on Religion*, 6th ed., p. 102, quoted by Strachan, *Lec. cit.*

⁵⁰ *Varieties of Religious Experiences*, pp. 207 f.

⁵¹ *Am. Journ. of Psychol.*, Vol. VII, p. 312.

CHAPTER II

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE JAPANESE

1. THE JAPANESE MIND

Between the Japanese mind and the Occidental mind it is frequently questioned whether there is any difference. Volumes have been written by students of ethnic psychology and their answers to this query assume both affirmative and negative forms. The question was recently put forcibly before the reading public by George Kennan who answers it in an emphatic negative.⁴³ He makes a number of very interesting quotations from books written by supposedly competent scholars and observers of the Japanese mind, who emphasize the marked difference in the mental constitutions between the Eastern and the Western people, pointing out the gulf which is well-nigh impossible to be bridged by mutual understanding.⁴⁴ It is true that in many mental traits the Japanese present peculiarities not manifest in the Western mind. It has been repeatedly pointed out, for example, that the Japanese are imitative to an extraordinary degree, that they are deficient in originality, that they lack the logical and philosophical faculties, that they are of sentimental temperament, that they are quick in sense perception, that they are strong in will power, etc.⁴⁵ But we must admit that these traits are not altogether absent in the Occidental mind. Recent experimental results on the psychology of individual difference and of mental types have clearly shown us that there exists a variety of mental traits in any given group of individuals. The curves of distribution of mental traits, in other words, are the same whether they are obtained from a group of Japanese or of Americans. The mere statement of seeming differences between any two groups of people is not in itself an explanation; we must rather seek such explanation by correlating various mental traits in any given race with the environmental factors which are chiefly responsible for the creation of the so-called racial mind.

The fundamental assumption, then, in the discussion of the psychology of the Japanese mind must not involve any notion of mental

⁴³ "Can We Understand the Japanese?" *The Outlook*, Aug. 10, 1912, pp. 815-22. Cf. also Dr. Hamilton W. Mabie's article in the same magazine.

⁴⁴ These authorities are: W. P. Watson: *Japan: Aspects and Destinies*, London, 1904; Sir Ian Hamilton: *Staff Officer's Scrap-Book*; Henry Norman: *The Real Japan*; Homer Lea: *The Valour of Ignorance*; L. Hearn: *Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation*; Horace Fletcher: "Home Life in Japan," in the *Good Health*, Feb., 1910.

⁴⁵ Cf. G. Verenne: "Essai sur la psychologie ethnique de quelques races asiatiques (psychologie normale)," *Arch. intern. d. neurologie*, T. I, 10me Ser., pp. 25-40; also A. Marie et G. Verenne: "Notes de psychopathologie ethnique (races jaunes)," *Ibid.*, T. I, pp. 69-82, 150-162.

difference which deceives even the most trained observer under the guise of social inheritance. It is undoubtedly true that the mental development is essentially social and any peculiarities that are found in the social environment will find their counterpart in the psychic life of the people.⁵⁵ The validity of our discussion depends upon the distinction we can discern between the social and the mental or rather biological elements involved in the religious experience of the Japanese. From our standpoint, then, the mental inheritance is more or less a constant, a known quantity, while the social inheritance is a variable, an unknown quantity. We must first see that this variable social inheritance exists in the case of the Japanese religious life, and only after such study shall have been completed, are we in position to understand the inheritance of these two elements in one's religious consciousness.⁵⁶ Hence, our immediate problem is with reference to the religious inheritance of the Japanese, under whose influence their religious consciousness is given birth and matured.

2. THE RELIGIOSITY OF THE JAPANESE

The question of the religiosity of the Japanese has also been raised. The suspicion foremost in the mind of Occidental scholars is as to whether the Japanese are religious in the sense that is ordinarily understood by the term. The full discussion of this subject would lead us too far afield for our present purposes. The solution of this problem seems to depend upon the view of the racial mind which has just been noted. The opinions on this point, however, vary among different writers on the religious life of the Japanese, but the majority of them take the negative attitude in regard to the problem. Chamberlain speaks of the Japanese as "essentially an undevotional people,"⁵⁷ Munzinger says they are "highly ethical, not highly religious,"⁵⁸ Walter Denning concludes they are "unable to understand the intense interest taken

⁵⁵ On this point a notable work is that of Sidney L. Gulick: *Evolution of the Japanese: Social and Psychic*, New York, 1903. John Stuart Mill is said to have remarked that "Of all vulgar modes of escaping from the consideration of the effect of social and moral influence on the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the diversities of conduct and character to inherent natural differences," quoted by W. P. Watson: *The Future of Japan*, New York, 1907.

⁵⁶ The analogy of individual and racial differences is not as conclusive as some may think. It makes one think that such an analogy could be absolutely used, but it has very little weight as we see it stated often, e. g., "It seems that there is a residuum of 'race-mind' not amenable to the power of 'social and moral influences,' and from this might be suggested by the analogy of the dissimilarities of individual mind and character—the probability, namely, that these are 'inherent natural differences' in the mental constitution of races." Watson: *Op. cit.*, p. 207, footnote.

⁵⁷ *Things Japanese*, article "Religion."

⁵⁸ *Die Japaner*, p. 187.

by the people of the West in ethical, religious and philosophical questions,"⁵⁹ Pfeiderer is said to have remarked in 1897, "I am sorry to know that the Japanese are deficient in religious nature,"⁶⁰ Percival Lowell said in connection with Japanese religious practices that "sense may not be vital to religion, but incense is,"⁶¹ and finally an eminent missionary to Japan concludes in favor of the non-religiosity of the Japanese by saying:

" Allowing liberal room for exceptions, which certainly exist, the average Japanese is not a man of deep religious conviction. Bearing in mind the religious eclecticism which has prevailed in Japan for centuries, the absence, in general, of deep religious convictions causes no surprise; the two are mutually destructive that the religious life, as well as the intellectual life, of the Japanese, is marked by superficiality, is one unfortunate result of the historical development of the religious life of the nation. The influence of Confucianism upon the educated class of Japan—that it has had a benumbing influence could only be expected from a system which is, at the best, uncertain as to the existence of a personal Supreme Being, and knows nothing of penitence and mercy. Religious indifference is certainly characteristic of the educated class."⁶²

Watson's statement in this connection is very significant: "In the end, however, it is clear that the Japanese people are without religion as it is understood in the West. They seem to have the capacity for religious devotion—a capacity universal as the human mind itself, but it fails to envisage objects which Europe would regard as truly sublime, or truly religious—objects, that is to say, truly deserving the service of their religious devotion."⁶³ This situation, as Watson would explain, is due to the deficiency in imagination which is so important a factor in idealizing the objects of religious worship.⁶⁴

From the foregoing opinions on the question of the religiosity of the Japanese, we may wonder if it is possible to find any trace of religious consciousness among them, and if the study of such a phenomenon is at all relevant. It seems clear, however, that the history of religions in Japan unmistakably points to the mental capacity of the Japanese for religious devotion.⁶⁵ It may be true that many Japanese have not yet found the truly idealized Supreme Being, because of the lack of imagination, but this will not deprive them of religious devotion. The

⁵⁹ Quoted by Chamberlain: *Things Japanese*, p. 258.

⁶⁰ Quoted by Gulick: *Evolution of the Japanese*, p. 286.

⁶¹ *Occult Japan*, p. 23.

⁶² G. W. Albrecht: "Religious Life of Modern Japan," *Bibliotheca Sacra*. Vol. LXII, pp. 13 ff.

⁶³ *The Future of Japan*, p. 161.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 196 ff.

⁶⁵ See T. Ishigami: *A Study in the Psychology of Religion* (in Japanese).

present thesis endeavors to throw some light on this question also, for our data comprise the cases in which the idealizing process has functioned and the subjects have found the truly idealized Being.

3. THE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF THE JAPANESE⁶⁶

The religious life of Japan presents a most complex situation. Some scholars would analyse it and find many constituent elements, while others would treat it as a composite whole.⁶⁷ But in any case, we must have a fairly clear conception of the fundamental nature of each composing element. In this section we are not concerned with the detailed analysis of Japanese beliefs; we are rather concerned with the psychological significance of the ethnic religions of Japan.

The religious atmosphere of Japan has at least five important elements: primitive belief, Shinto, Buddhism, Confucianism and Christianity.⁶⁸ The first of these belongs to the ancient period,⁶⁹ the remains of which are still evident in the fundamental conceptions of Shinto. By some it is called "nature worship," or "religious Shinto" as distinguished from "state Shinto."⁷⁰ It is characterized by a vague sense of primitive adoration for things wonderful, and can hardly be called a religion, as Chamberlain rightly says: "The first thing that strikes the student is that what, for want of a more appropriate name, we must call the religion of the Early Japanese, was not an organized religion."⁷¹ Knox has a more psychological statement: "It is not superstition, nor is it mere custom, nor is it simply the arousing of the æsthetic nature. It is the beginning of religion, adoration, and dependence, praise and prayer, faith and rite; 'not knowing what it is,' but only that in the soul there is a sense of a greater than self which we joy to worship, a more powerful than self on which we must depend."⁷² It also believes in the divine descent of the sovereign who commands absolute obedience and

⁶⁶ The subject has a field of its own, and to go into it in detail is to encroach upon the area of comparative religion. It is only necessary here to review, as it were, some of the more significant literature in the light of our problem. Of all the general treatises on the subject, the most satisfactory from our point of view is that of Professor G. E. Knox: *The Development of Religion in Japan*, New York, 1907. President T. Harada's lectures on *The Faith of Japan*, published in New York, 1914, is also helpful. W. E. Griffis's book on *The Religions of Japan* is a very useful description of the ethnic religions.

⁶⁷ T. Harada regards the religious life of Japan as an organic whole by calling it "The Faith of Japan." See *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

⁶⁸ These five are by no means exhaustive nor always distinctly analysable. As to the other minor sects, see *infra*, p. 16, note 79.

⁶⁹ As recorded in the two ancient books: *Kojiki* (712 A.D.) and *Nihongi* (720 A.D.).

⁷⁰ *The Christian Movement in Japan*, 1913, Appendix V.

⁷¹ *The Kojiki*, translated by B. H. Chamberlain, Translator's Introductory, Section V, p. iv.

⁷² *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

true loyalty from all his subjects. This is the underlying idea of modern patriotism and nationalism which so strongly binds together the entire nation. "It came to be the strongest force in the history of the nation, a sacred principle inherited from 'ages eternal' It has begotten the Yamato Damashii, the proud spirit of Japan, shown in absorbing devotion to emperor and country, being the supreme force of the nation's life and progress, the 'Soul of Japan'."⁷³ Psychologically interpreted, this represents a stage of infancy, and early childhood perhaps, in the genetics of religious belief. It is called "primitive credulity" by Bain, which is elaborated by Pratt.⁷⁴ It is a period of fetishism, of hero-worship, of the vague sense of dependence on the feeling of something bigger than self, and more wonderful than ordinary natural phenomena, which is void of all rational content. It is impulsive and sentimental, and its rites greatly resemble the magic dances of the lower races.⁷⁵

Shinto is not entirely free from equally primitive traits which we have seen to be the characteristics of the Yamato religion. The literal meaning of the term Shinto is the "Way of the Gods,"⁷⁶ and its fundamental ideas are identical with those of the ancient primitive cult, but it represents a step higher in the evolution of the ethnic religious consciousness. The basic principle is the notion of the supremacy of the god-born ruler who exhibited his power by mighty conquest. Herein lies the explanation of Shinto, for it "is the natural religion of the people reorganized and completed as myth—that is, as stories with an object, and this object is the support of the Imperial house and power."⁷⁷ It exists today chiefly as an official cult, and assumes an air of being the national religion, for it fosters the spirit of loyalty and patriotism by appealing to the sense of national solidarity and performing rites in memory of the divine ancestors of the emperor and great subjects. Psychologically viewed, Shinto represents the stage of myth-making, for myth "is that body of traditions among a given people which is most

⁷³ G. E. Albrecht: *Loc. cit.*, p. 2.

⁷⁴ J. B. Pratt: *The Psychology of Religious Belief*, pp. 34 ff.

⁷⁵ Dr. I. Nitobe, in his lecture, speaks of this religion as follows: ". . . . Our simple faith was known as *Komi-nagara*, a word which defies exact translation, since the first of the component terms, *Komi*, commonly rendered god or deity, fails to convey the meaning originally attached to it; and as to second term, *Nagara*, which literally consists of *naku* and *aru*, 'to be and not to be,' and which can be approximately rendered 'being like gods' or 'being in a state of godhood,' implies the original innocence of man." *The Japanese Nation*, 1912, pp. 122 f.

⁷⁶ The meaning of the term Shinto is given by Motoori, the great Shinto theologian, (1730-1801). See Aston: *Shinto: The Ancient Religion of Japan*, pp. 61.

⁷⁷ Knox: *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

closely associated with their ceremonials. Such mythology moves quite at the level of associative trains of imagery without rational form, yet furnishes the psychological milieu within which the dramatic action lies."⁷⁸ It is, too, full of the spirit of hero-worship, for the object of worship was not a moral personality, but anything distinguished by extraordinary strength or power, and not by moral quality.⁷⁹

Buddhism represents psychologically a still higher stage of religious development; yet in Japan, the change from Shinto to Butsuo (the Way of Buddha) was not a gradual one as in the case of the development of Shinto out of the primitive religion. Professor Knox remarks on this very point that "we do not study in this change a slow evolution, by means of 'resident forces,' but a conversion—not growth, but regeneration—for thus may man's nature respond to external influences and more will be accomplished in a generation than otherwise in centuries."⁸⁰ Buddhism came from the mainland of Asia in the sixth century, not as a religion as such but as a present from one sovereign to another. It prospered tremendously because of its plasticability to adjust itself to the varying conditions and classes of people.⁸¹ The distinctive feature is its complexity in ceremonials, canons, creeds and principles. Its principal belief is in the impermanence of material things, and the transmigration of the human soul. It distinguishes two selves: the self of our senses, intellect, emotion and will; and the self which has the world beyond as its objective. The salvation of man is attained when this latter self is realized by meditation and suggestion. The great aspiration of a devout Buddhist is to become nothing,—unoccupied with things of the present world,—and be transformed into "Buddha." Thus it appeals to intellect instead of to senses, and finds there a true realization of the Absolute. The grave defect of Buddhism is the absence of any definite object of worship, that is, it has no true

⁷⁸ E. S. Ames: *The Psychology of Religious Experience*, p. 166.

⁷⁹ There are certain degenerate forms of Shinto, which are by some called sub-sects. These are: Kurosumi, Shusei, Taisha, Fuso, Taisei, Jikko, Shinshu, Mitake, Mihara, Shinri, Kinko, Remmon and Tenri, the last of which is the most popular. For the exposition of these sects, see Otis Cary: *Japan and its Regeneration*, 1899, pp. 49 f.; articles by D. C. Greene and Arthur Lloyd in the *Trans. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol. XXIII and XXIV, and by O. Cary in the *Andover Rev.*, June 1889.

⁸⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 82.

⁸¹ This plasticity of Buddhism is best illustrated in the formation of sects and sub-sects, especially after the Civil War, namely, in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. Practically all of these sects exist still today, and at least twelve sects and forty-nine sub-sects are distinguishable. It is also noteworthy that there were distinguishable after the Civil War three forms of Buddhism, namely, monastic Buddhism, Bushido, and Amidaism. The first was the religion of the monk, the second that of the warrior, and the third that of the common people. Cf. an article by Arthur Lloyd: "Religion of Japan." *The Times*, Japan Edition, 1910, pp. 283 f.

conception of God; and owing to its intellectual nature, it fails to reach the rank and file of common people who are usually incapable of understanding the true spirit of Buddha. This leads to idolatry which is often styled Amidaism, in which the representation of Buddha is held to be the incarnation of the divine personality. It requires no knowledge and no works to attain salvation. Belief and trust in Amida is the sole condition of blessedness and peace.

Confucianism came from China in the fifth century with an inestimable wealth of moral and philosophical teachings. It can hardly be called a religion, as its central idea is a perfectly disciplined gentleman who educates himself by learning and self-improvement. The fundamental virtue is filial piety. The rules for conduct are given by Confucius himself: "A noble-minded man has four rules to regulate his conduct: to serve one's parents in such a manner as is required of a son; to serve one's sovereign in such a manner as is required of a subject; to serve one's elder brother in such a manner as is required of a young brother; to set an example of dealing with one's friends in such a manner as is required of friends."⁸² According to Knox, Confucianism represents the highest point in the religious development of the Japanese. It found the Eternal behind the temporal, the Changeless in the midst of change. "All nature was bound together with a golden Chain of life, and man in his spiritual and moral nature was its representative. . . . This eternal changeless principle, without name or definition, was not conceived as pure being or as substance, but it was described as righteousness." It is not realized through metaphysical contemplation, but in actual conduct of man and in his social relationship.⁸³

From the standpoint of psychology, this stage represents a very interesting case of self-consciousness or personal relationship in the realm of social interaction. Man, in the course of his development, becomes social by the interplay of objects and his self. But the concept of the personal-social, rather than the ideal-social, is the necessary precursor, after the stage of primitive credulity has passed away. In the ancient Yamato religion, we saw what corresponds to the stage of early infancy when objects are vaguely personalized and revered with a spirit of dependence and adoration. In Shinto we have a myth-making stage and the legends are gradually accumulated, which later became a code of ethics and articles of faith. In Buddhism the intellectual development is foreshadowed and the Absolute is found in the universe and this

⁸² Quoted by Fung Kwang Yu: "Confucianism," *World's Parliament of Religions*, Vol. I, p. 415.

⁸³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 193 f.

is worshipped by contemplation. In Confucianism we have a system of thought which makes the perfect human relationship as its final goal, indicating thus a step further in the process of socialization and maturity. "Thus did man in Japan pass through successive stages from the recognition of that which is immediately perceptible as the highest and noblest, to the apprehension of ideas conceived only by the mind as constituting the Absolute, and finally to the worship of benevolence, righteousness, and truth, made known to us through conscience, and realized in the family, in society and the state."⁸⁴

As to the place of Christianity in the religious life of the Japanese it is needless to waste any space here, for this is partly the task of the present treatise. Historically it is the youngest of all religions, as it was in the sixteenth century that it came in the form of Roman Catholicism which flourished for fifty years or more and then was suppressed on the ground of disturbing the integrity of the Empire. Protestant Christianity came only at the beginning of the new era of Meiji, and, though its progress is not remarkable, it is gradually gaining ground in the spiritual life of the nation. It has played an important part in introducing modern methods of philanthropy, education, and various forms of social service; it revolutionized the thought life of the nation and gave a sound world view and a proper perspective in regard to human life and the universe. The great contribution of Christianity to Japan, however, is the clear conception of a personal God which alone, as we shall endeavor to prove in a later section, can be regarded as the ultimate criterion of a true religion. The attainment of the conception of such a personal being in the realm of the spirit is the idealizing process carried to its last degree, and represents psychologically the highest stage in mental development.⁸⁵

After having reviewed briefly the essential elements of the religious life of Japan, we may reach a tentative conclusion as to the religiosity of the Japanese. Perhaps the most striking deficiency, we may say, is found in the conception or rather the misconception of deity that the Japanese have entertained for centuries past. There is no distinct element of monotheism in which personality is predominant. While they have an abundance of moral concepts and philosophical ideas, true religious ideals seem to be lacking. The socializing process, in other

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 194 f.

⁸⁵ For the history of Christianity in Japan, see Ota Cary: *A History of Christianity in Japan*, New York, 1909, 2 Vols.; E. W. Clement: *Christianity in Modern Japan*, Philadelphia, 1905; the annual reports entitled *Christian Movement in Japan*. The periodical published in Japan, *The Japan Evangelist*, is very important in this connection.

words, has not yet reached the point of idealization where the personal deity is made the object of worship. Their conception of god is always in terms of providence, of Kami, of virtue, of strength, etc., where the personal element is absent. Count Okuma characterizes Japanese religiosity as follows:

" the Japanese conception of deities—if that term be properly applicable—does not, as is the case with the supreme beings of religions in general, involve the idea of obedience imposed by external authority, for instead of rites of sacrifice and prayer, whereby the devotees of other cults invoke blessings for themselves, the Japanese offer to their ancestors in thanksgiving the first fruits of the harvest, the members of each family assembling in their invisible presence and joyfully commemorating their own callings in life."⁶⁶

Again President Harada remarks:

" Japanese have had no clear conception of a personal God, nor even of the personality of man himself. It follows that they have never attained to an adequate conception of the worth of the individual. Sometimes the idea of duty has been confused with the idea of submission to authority, blessedness has been identified with happiness, and sin has been confused with crime."⁶⁷

From our standpoint, then, although Japan is not lacking in systems of religions, the general religious consciousness is not yet mature, and this is precisely the reason why so many students of the Japanese people were forced to maintain the non-religiosity of the people. This, however, applies only to the general situation and not at all to individual cases, for there are many individuals who have attained that idealizing stage which is the true test of religiosity. In the light of this rapid review of the religious life of Japan, then, it becomes evident that Christianity has a definite message to deliver, and to the consideration of this message in its psychological setting we must now turn.

⁶⁶ *Fifty Years of New Japan*, edited by Count Shigenobu Okuma, Vol. I, p. 4.

⁶⁷ *International Review of Missions*, Vol. I, p. 85.

CHAPTER III

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CONVERSION

1. THE DEFINITION OF THE TERM

The term conversion is generally used to denote a sudden change, largely emotional in character, that comes about in one's religious life. In this thesis, however, it is employed to mean a change merely from the ethnic religious devotion to Christian belief, whether emotional and sudden or otherwise. It does not mean for us then that the pre-conversion experience is necessarily anti- or non-religious. Our subjects, with the exception of a few cases, had some definitely religious experience, grounded upon appropriate instruction in religious practices and beliefs. For some reason or other, they had been forced to abandon their earlier beliefs and to seek a new faith which is embodied in Christianity. Our purpose now is to study the reasons underlying such a conversion experience.

The phenomena of conversion present a variety of types, but only the two extremes are usually noted, namely, "volitional" and "self-surrender" types, according to the terminology employed by Starbuck. As a matter of fact, however, there is an endless number of cases which cannot strictly be classed with either of these two types, and these unclassifiable cases will be found, upon careful examination, to lie somewhere between them. In brief, the cases of conversion present a gradation of types from the slowly maturing process to the sudden alteration of interests and ends of life. James is mainly concerned with cases of sudden religious conversion, and his sole reason for neglecting the other types is that they are less interesting, or perhaps more likely because they do not fit in with his theory of the subconscious element in conversion.⁸⁸ The cases collected in the present study, on the contrary, are chiefly those of gradual transition from ethnic faiths or merely ethical training into the faith and belief in the religion of Jesus Christ.

2. THE RELIGIOUS TRAINING OF THE JAPANESE CONVERTS

Starbuck, in his study of pre-conversion experience, found the following factors, both physical and mental, to be predominant: sense of sin, feeling of estrangement from God, desire for better life, depression, restlessness, helplessness, earnestness, prayer, tendency to resist conviction, doubts, loss of sleep or appetite, nervousness, weeping, affection

⁸⁸ *Varieties of Religious Experience*, pp. 207 ff.

of sight, hearing and touch; and he says: "The result of an analysis of these different shades of experience coincides with the common designation of this pre-conversion state in making the central fact in it all the sense of sin, while the other conditions are various manifestations of this, as determined, first, by difference in temperament, and, second, by whether the ideal life or the sinful life is vivid in consciousness."⁸⁹ We shall see, however, that in the majority of our cases, the conclusion reached by Starbuck holds only partially true, for the average Japanese is reared in a religious atmosphere which does not always emphasize the sense of sin,⁹⁰ and hence it is absent from the experiences of our subjects. It seems probable that the sense of sin is a product of the surroundings which emphasize it.⁹¹

The best account of early religious training is given in the following case:

"My family belonged to the warrior class; so I was born to fight,—vivere est militare,—from the very cradle. . . . To no one of them (parents and ancestors) do I trace the origin of my 'religious sensibilities' which I early acquired in my boyhood. . . . My father was a good Confucian scholar, who could repeat from memory almost every passage in the writings and sayings of the sage. So naturally my early education was in that line; and though I could not understand the ethico-political precepts of the Chinese sages, I was imbued with the general sentiments of their teachings. . . . Side by side with these and other instructions, not inferior, I sincerely believe, to those which are imparted to, and professed by, many who call themselves Christians, I was not free from many drawbacks and much superstition.

"The most defective point in Chinese ethics is its weakness when it deals with sexual morality. . . . But no retrospect of my bygone days causes in me a greater humiliation than the spiritual darkness I groped under, laboriously sustained with gross superstitions. I believed, and that sincerely, that there dwelt in each of innumerable temples its god, jealous over its jurisdiction, ready with punishment to any transgressor that fell under his displeasure. The god whom I revered and adored most was the god of learning and writing, for whom I faithfully observed the twenty-fifth of every month with due sanctity and sacrifice. I prostrated myself before his image, earnestly implored his aid to improve my handwriting and help my memory. Then there is a god who presides over rice-culture, and his errands unto mortals are white foxes. He can be approached with prayers to protect our homes from fire and robbery, and as my father was mostly away from home, and I was alone with my mother, I ceased not to beseech this god of rice to keep my poor home from the said

⁸⁹ *The Psychology of Religion*, p. 58; cf. also table IX on p. 63.

⁹⁰ Nitobe speaks of Shinto for example as follows: "Shinto has no sympathy with the doctrine of original sin, and, therefore, with the fall of man. It has implicit faith in the innate purity of the human soul. . . . In fact, Shinto did not teach us to pray for forgiveness of sins, but for the sweet things of life, for happiness, but not for blessedness." *The Japanese Nation*, pp. 123 f. Shinto recognizes the evil of life, but it is rather an accident than an inheritance.

⁹¹ A good example is found in the classical incident in the Edwardean revival, when Edwards preached a woeful sermon, "On Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God."

disasters. There was another god whom I feared more than all others. His emblem was a black raven, and he was the searcher of man's inmost heart. The keeper of his temple issued papers upon which ravens were printed in sombre colors, the whole having a miraculous property to cause immediate hemorrhage when taken into the stomach by anyone who told a falsehood. I often vindicated my truthfulness before my comrades by calling upon them to test my veracity by the use of a piece of this sacred paper, if they stood in suspicion of what I asserted. Still another god exercises healing power upon those who suffer from toothache. Him also did I call upon, as I was a constant sufferer from this painful malady. He would exact from his devotee a vow to abstain from pears as specially obnoxious to him, and I was, of course, most willing to undergo the required privation. . . . One god would impose upon me abstinence from the use of eggs, another from beans, till after I made all my vows, many of my boyish delicacies were entered upon the prohibition list. Multiplicity of gods often involved the contradiction of the requirements of one god with those of another, and sad was the plight of a conscientious soul when he had to satisfy more than one god. With so many gods to satisfy and appease, I was naturally a fretful, timid child. I framed a general prayer to be offered to every one of them, adding, of course, special requests appropriate to each, as I happened to pass before each temple. Every morning as soon as I washed myself, I offered this common prayer to each of the four groups of gods located in the four points of the compass, paying special attention to the eastern groups, as the rising sun was the greatest of all gods. Where several temples were contiguous to one another, the trouble of repeating the same prayer so many times was very great; and I would often prefer a longer route with less number of sanctuaries in order to avoid the trouble of saying my prayers without scruples of conscience. The number of deities to be worshipped increased day by day, till I found my little soul totally incapable of pleasing them all. But a relief came at last."⁹²

The above experience points out the existence of struggle in the mind of the young religious devotee, but not the sense of sin. This situation is somewhat common among the less educated class. The interpretation of the phenomenon of the divided self, as given by James,⁹³ finds its fitting application in this case. Practice of a similar sort is found in still others. Naruse speaks of his early religious customs as follows:

"The first duty of the day was to worship the gods. In the morning I used to worship the god of heaven and earth, the god of water, the god of the mountain, the god of the clan. This I did standing outside the house. Then coming in I worshipped the spirits of my ancestors with the god of the household. We had not only gods of agriculture, medicine, etc., but a god to care for each particular member of a man's body; such as a god of the eyes, a god of the teeth, etc. In all, we believed in several thousand gods. But we regarded the god of heaven as the king of all the gods and the ruler of all things. But, of course, the idea of God was very dim; we conceived of the invisible world of gods or spirits as an organized society, like human society. As a king has many officers, so there are many gods of every kind and degree, all doing the bidding and performing the work of the God of Heaven. We thought of the spirits

⁹² K. Uchimura: *Hew I Became a Christian*, 1895, pp. 3-9.

⁹³ *Op. cit.*, Lect. VIII.

of these gods as scattered throughout nature, and as having their individual dwelling-places in various objects, such as the sun, the moon, the temple, the idol."⁸⁴

Again, religious devotion similar to the above is seen in the case of J. H. Neesima. He writes of his mother and her sickness as follows:

"One day she was sick in bed; I was very anxious for her, and wished to procure some remedy, though she had something from the doctor. So I went to the temple and prayed to the god that he would cure my mother; I bought a little bit of cake, which was a portion of the morning offering, and gave it to her for a remedy, hoping earnestly that it might do some good to her. I knew not, indeed, whether nature cured her, or whether her will or faith in the god made her whole, but she became better soon after she received that cake. She truly believed that the god had granted my earnest request for her, and restored her health so soon. I had done the same thing for my neighbors, and was often successful in curing them."⁸⁵

Regarding the early instruction by his parents, he makes the following remarks:

"I was obedient to my parents, and, as they early taught me to do so, served gods made by hand with great reverence. We strictly observed the days of my ancestors and departed friends, and we went to the graveyards to worship their spirits. I often rose up early in the morning, went to a temple which was at least three and a half miles from home, where I worshipped the gods, and returned promptly, reaching my home before breakfast. I did that not only because I expected some blessing from the gods, but that I might receive praise from my parents and neighbors."⁸⁶

Subject M. H. relates his experience as follows:

"My home was on the average level of any country home, and our family religion was a queer combination of Buddhism and Shintoism. My grandmother and aunt were especially devoted to these sects, and the fact that they observed regularly the rite of worship every morning seems to have had a considerable influence in my religious life. Among many gods, their favorite deity was the *Tenman-gu* (the god of learning), and during the period of examination in the elementary school, they prayed to this god that my marks might be high. This being the case, I became much devoted to this god. I do not remember clearly the good lessons in morals that our elementary school teacher used to give us when I was about thirteen years of age."

Subject J. K. has the same type of experience:

"My family belonged to Shingon Sect on the Buddhistic side, and on the Shintoistic side we were devoted to all sorts of gods. In one corner of the house was a small shrine, and on festive days, there shone a number of candles. Near our house was a shrine of *Inari*, the guardian god of the district, around which the semi-annual festivity was observed. Such a coexistence of Buddhism and Shintoism was not a peculiarity of our family alone, but was common among all families of the district. My people had no definite religious conception about their piety; their religion was more of a traditional and superstitious nature. My mother did not allow any of

⁸⁴ Jinso Naruse: *A Modern Soul in Japan*, 1893, p. 22.

⁸⁵ J. D. Davis: *A Maher of New Japan*, 1894, p. 16.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 161.

us to eat, until she had finished the morning offering of sacrificial meal to the deities. On the New Year's day we had to visit three or four temples, and on the day of semi-annual festivity, we invited all of our relatives to observe it, and to my childish mind religious festivities were occasions of unusual joy. When we had any sickness in our family, my mother used to consult the Shinto priest, in whose counsel she had great confidence. The fact which I still now remember with unusual vividness is that she prayed to her god for three years, totally inhibiting her smoking habit for the welfare of my eldest brother. When her wishes were granted her joy knew no bound. The Shinto priest used to visit my home at least two or three times every month, and when we wanted to initiate a new enterprise, he used to consult the oracle for its probable outcome. Thus the family in which I was reared was full of religiously rich influences, though much of them was merely traditional."

Subject T. M. says:

"The religion of my early days was Shintoism; the moral influence was summed up in the phrase: 'self-control.' My father was a believer in Shintoism, with, however, a little inclination towards Confucian teachings, while my mother was a Buddhist. The majority of my relatives were Buddhists."

Subject S. T. says:

"Buddhism, Shintoism, Ancestor-worship and polytheism were all the elements which entered into my early religious life. There was no unity in the matter of the objects of worship in our home. I was influenced by polytheistic belief unconsciously and came to know that that was the only form in which one can become pious. I was blindly reverent."

Subject K. W. remarks:

"My father was a Shinto believer, pious, prayerful, faithful in observing religious ceremonies, and honest in his business. My mother was a Buddhist, somewhat unsophisticated, but very earnest in invoking the blessing of the gods particularly upon her deceased ancestors. In such a vaguely defined religious atmosphere, I early came to feel the power which was beyond human apprehension, and which was governing our lives, punishing the wicked and rewarding the righteous. This conception greatly influenced my daily conduct and persuaded me of the necessity of religion."

The above cases clearly indicate the dependence of early religious training upon polytheistic superstition of a very primitive type. The more refined religious culture of early childhood consists in the Buddhist training. One of our converts from Buddhism relates of his training as a Buddhist priest as follows Rev. K. Imai:

"When I entered the Myōōji (a temple in the province of Kawachi belonging to the Shingon Sect), I was only twelve years old and had just finished my elementary school, but on the day following my entrance, I began the study of Chinese classics which contributed toward my general culture, and in the afternoon I spent my time in studying the Buddhist scriptures. I almost forgot to eat and sleep, for I studied very earnestly and hard. In February of the following year, when my parents and other relatives visited me in the temple, I was initiated into the order of Buddhist discipleship, by shaving the hair on my head and donning for the first time the priestly

gown. . . . From this time on, I was busy with my Buddhistic training, consisting in the study of the scriptures, the practice of Zazen, Kwanbo, Gyobo, etc., until, when I was seventeen years of age, I was chosen as a fellow to study in the monastery at Koyasan. As I was fully prepared, I was able to pass all the examinations at the completion of one year's work, whereas others were required to stay at least for five years before they are entitled to examination. I returned once more to the Myōōji and continued the study of the Shingon philosophy. . . . Later I studied the secret teachings of Shingon for three years in Kyoto, and still later I studied Immyoron (Buddhist logic) in Nara. . . ."

The above is the professional training of Buddhism, but the more popular training consists in giving to the child such parables as the one our subject K. Y. relates:

"During my early life I was influenced greatly by Buddhism. My great-grandparents and grandparents were both exceedingly religious. My father was the *danto*, that is, the head of the lay members, of the temple of the Zen Sect. My mother was also an earnest Buddhist. While my grandparents taught me how to worship the images of Buddha and the minor gods, my parents explained to me some typical sermons and parables of Buddhism, emphasizing the moral principles of life. One of these parables was the story of the Dry Well which runs as follows:

" 'While a traveler was crossing a desert, he encountered a wild elephant which began to chase him. Greatly frightened the traveler ran, but he could find neither house nor tree which would serve as protection. A little later, however, he came to a dry well. As he looked into this cistern, he saw an ivy twisting about over the inner wall of the well and he hurriedly clung to it. Meanwhile, the angry elephant stretched his trunk and tried to get hold of the poor traveler. The man lowered himself down by means of the ivy, but as he looked down at the bottom of the well, he saw there a gigantic snake! The trunk of the elephant was above his head and the tongue of the monster snake under his feet. With fear and trembling the poor man turned his eyes to the interior of the wall; and there he saw a field abloom with innumerable varieties of beautiful flowers. The only hope for this unfortunate man was the ivy. But alas! Two mice—one black and one white—emerged from the crevice of the wall and began to gnaw the ivy to which he was so faithfully committing the destiny of his life.'

"Interpreting this parable, my parents would say that we all are chased by Satan and the grave is awaiting us. We are clinging to the ivy which is called 'life,' but, like the black and white mice, night and day are shortening unceasingly the limited span of our life. Worldly flowers are, of course, blooming enticingly along life's pathway, but we should not take delight in them. My parents strictly prohibited the use of strong drink, tobacco and card playing. They insisted that we should look up to Buddha who, with a golden crown upon his brow and his holy limbs attired in the garb of Indian silk, is ever ready to help man in the dry well, by outstretching a bamboo stick to his rescue. Thus I lived in an exceedingly religious atmosphere during my early days."

A similar Buddhistic training is seen in the case of S. M.:

"I do not remember as to the religiosity of my father, but if my recollection is correct he was an earnest Buddhist believer. But later he became indignant over the

fact that his priest neglected some sacramental practice to our ancestors, and was converted to Shintoism. As to the religion of my mother, it was more of a traditional affair and nothing conscientious on her part. When I became heir to the valuable possessions of my family, I discovered to my great delight that my family was of Samurai origin. Then I used to hear of my ancestors who were earnest followers of Buddha, and of their achievements in copying the manuscripts of the Buddhistic canon and in carving some images for the benefit of the thirty-three temples in the western provinces. Whenever I heard of these facts, I felt something mysterious and wonderful and profound in the teachings of Buddha. . . . But the man who led me into the faith in Buddha more than anyone else was my brother-in-law, who showed me some really effective examples of Buddha's power. Immediately after his marriage he used to leave his wife and go to Kyoto for the sake of practicing Zazen, or to contemplate quietly in his own study, or to read very quietly some passages from the sacred writings and religio-ethical poems of To-so. Whenever I noticed such practices indicative of his religiosity, I used to feel in my mind an inclination to enter into the Ways of Buddha, and often I was wont to study tenaciously the catechism of the Zen Sect, and at times I contemplated even becoming a Buddhist priest. . . ."

Another example is the experience of T. Kobayashi, as narrated by N. Kato:

"Mr. Kobayashi seems to have had a favorable inclination toward religion from the time of his boyhood. His father was a Buddhist believer of Shin Sect, and Mr. Kobayashi may be said in a way to be a born Buddhist. This is confirmed by his ability to reproduce with ease some of the important Buddhist literature which he had learned while still tender in age and memory. At twelve years of age, he was seriously troubled with his eyes, and was almost on the verge of losing his sight. He then frequented a temple in the distant mountain and prayed earnestly for his recovery. But such a form of religious practice he soon came to feel inadequate. He had very little patience with superstition and was eager to find a true faith to satisfy his religious longing. It is evident that the religious customs of the Shin Sect was a preparation for a higher form of worship in later years."

A case of liberal Buddhistic atmosphere is seen in subject M. Ka.:

"My family belonged to the Shin Sect which was known as the least formal of all Buddhist sects. My father was exceedingly liberal and hated all hypocritical religious ceremonials. The chief incident responsible for his assuming such an attitude was the death of my mother, which occasioned him severe trial. Moreover, he had really no time to waste upon religious formalities. Therefore, I was brought up entirely free from the odor of any incense. Moreover, my father was strict to the last degree, and had little sympathy with the *laissez-faire* mode of living, but, as I recall, he had an abundance of paternal affection toward me."

Subject R. H. remarks:

"My father was a devout Buddhist, not of dogmatic but of pragmatic type, and used to have visions of Yakshi Niorai; our family belonged to the Shin Sect but my father used to attend a Tendai temple. He was sentimental and paganly pious. I was his favorite son; consequently his influence was great. My innocent childhood

⁷⁷ N. Kato: *The Life of Tomijiro Kobayashi*, Tokyo, 1911, Ch. IX.

was spent in pagan culture, devoutly worshipping at any temple,—reverence and the spirit of worship being largely induced by my father's influence. At the age of eleven or twelve, I once heard an itinerant Christian preacher in the village. The impression was so slight that I remember nothing about his sermon, but I well remember a beautiful card he then gave me. It was a picture of doves and flowers with a verse: 'God so loved the world,' which I used to mumble without knowing its meaning."

Subject Y. B. says:

"My family was of the Shingon Sect, but the relation to the temple was very slight. We only contributed our offerings two or three times a year, and the priest used to visit our home to offer prayers and read the scriptures. Thus the religious influence of my home was merely nominal. My grandmother was a pious woman and used to take me to temples and shrines while I was very young and my religious inclination began to arise about this time. But my religion was little more than the prayer for the prosperity and happiness of my home; and I never passed by a temple without having a spirit of reverence. After entering the grammar school, I visited temples less frequently. From this time on I believed in Monju-Bosatsu and Uji-Gami, and prayed for the advancement of my study and learning. My uncle was a priest of the Shingon Sect, but his influence upon me was very slight. The moral instruction I received in the grammar school made me see the necessity of relating one's faith to his conduct, for I used to know a pious man who was immoral. At the same time I came to know that God would not listen to prayers of evil-minded believers. When I was twelve years of age, my mother died, and my father followed her three years later. At that time I used to look up to the priests and committed to memory the scriptural passages they used to teach. What made me somewhat impatient, however, was the fact that they did not give me a word of comfort. My great sympathizers were the friends and relatives, and I began to regard the priests as useless creatures."

Subject T. H. says:

"My parents and my relatives were all Buddhists, and my early religious training was decidedly Buddhistic. I used to repeat the Buddhist scriptures without understanding their meanings."

Subject K. T. remarks:

"I was born in a Buddhist (Shingon Sect) family. My grandmother was very religious, but the rest of the family were somewhat indifferent. My grandfather looked at all religious formalities with contempt."

Still another type of religious atmosphere is where the Confucian influence predominates, and this is usually fostered by the more educated class. The majority of eminent Christian workers in Japan today come from these surroundings. We may here make some lengthy quotations from various sources. A very thorough description of the ethical instruction based on Confucian teaching is given by J. Naruse in his biography of Paul Sawayama:

"The morality of the time was a somewhat peculiar one, which came from an alloy of Japanese Shintoism and Confucianism and Buddhism which were imported from

China. . . . The first duty was the religious one—to obey the decrees of heaven, and to serve the spirits of ancestors. The most familiar obligation was that of obeying the decree of heaven: 'What heaven had conferred is called nature; an accordance with this nature is called the path of duty; the regulation of this path is called instruction.' The next duty was that of 'Gorin,' or the duty of five relations. These five relations were, first, the relation between master or prince and servant; second, that between father and son; third, that between man and wife; fourth, between brethren; fifth, that between friends. . . . One sentiment which from childhood we were taught to repeat was this: 'What you do not want done to yourself, do not do it to others'. . . . Our chief negative commandments were: Do not lie, do not steal, do not covet. And the training which we received in the keeping of these was constant and emphatic. . . . We were taught that if we spoke a lie we would receive punishment from God in this world, and in the next world our tongues would be cut out of our mouths. . . . I will say in a word how we were taught to examine our hearts and to keep our conscience active. When I was tempted to sin in the darkness, I repeated these words: 'Heaven knows, as I know, and earth knows; I cannot escape from a net of heaven; there is nothing more visible than what is secret, and nothing more manifest than what is minute; therefore, the superior man is watchful over himself when he is alone.' Such precepts as the following were helpful in our efforts to examine ourselves, and repent of our faults: 'I daily examine myself on three points: whether in transacting business for others I may have been unfaithful; whether in intercourse with friends I may have been insincere; whether I have mastered and practiced the instruction of my teachers. . . .'"

The boyhood of Rev. H. Kozaki is very full of Confucian trainings:

"From the beginning, I was trained in Chinese classics, and when I was fifteen years old, I was quite conversant with *Shisho*, *Gokyo*, *Saden*, *Shiki*, *Rekishi-Kokan*, *Tsukan-Komoku*, etc. . . . The words of Shonan Yokoi, which he gave as a note of warning to his two nephews on their departure for America, embodied the ideal of that period:

'With full apprehension of the ways of Gioshun and Koshi,
Learn the arts of Western civilization.
Why content with our own enriched land and efficient arms?
We must extend our righteousness to all the world.'

The Confucian ethics and the Occidental learning, if we possess these two, constituted the basis of firm belief that there can be no better combination for spiritual equipment. Thus, though we studied the physical sciences of the West, we never thought of adopting its ethics or religion. On the contrary, we even attempted to Confucianize the Occidentals, and more than once, we argued with Captain Janes with the weapon of Confucian precepts."⁹⁹

Subject Sh. M. relates of his Confucian training as follows:

"My family religion was the Shin Sect of Buddhism. My father was the retainer of the Mori family, and of staunch Samurai blood. His idea of educating his children, however, was influenced by Confucianism. When I was seven years old, I was taught the *Daisaku*, and by the time I reached the sixth grade, I advanced to the *Shiki*.

⁹⁹ J. Naruse: *A Modern Paul in Japan*, pp. 17, 19-22.

¹⁰⁰ H. Kozaki: *My Experiences of Twenty-five Years*.

The teachings of Confucius and of Buddhism left on me a tremendous impression, though unconsciously, on my boyish brain. Regulations regarding conduct and etiquette were often so painful that I could hardly bear them. My mother had passed away to the world beyond when I was only five years old and consequently I have no knowledge of maternal affection. I had no religion of my own, but I was deeply moved while listening to the priest reading the *Gobunsho* written by Shinran".

As distinguished from the training which is apparently religious, some young men were brought up in a non-religious or even anti-religious atmosphere:

"I was brought up in a non-religious environment. The only principle which was entertained by my immediate friends was Bentham's Utilitarianism. Thus religion was to me a synonym for superstition, and I never took an active interest in anything related to religion."¹⁰⁰

" I have as a whole no scholastic attainment, but in the course of my life, I have become conversant, more or less, with current philosophical thought, both Oriental and Occidental. From the standpoint of character, I was a victim of sensuality, and had no such virtue as self-control. I was very unfavorably disposed towards all forms of religious belief, and especially was I hostile towards the Christian religion."¹⁰¹

"In my boyhood days, my parents, having no definite religious inclination, I did not receive religious education of any kind. The moral atmosphere of my home was that of the ancient song:

The god blesseth
Not him who prayeth,
But him whose heart strayeth
Not from the way of Makoto.¹⁰²

From six to fifteen, I received education under a scholar in Chinese classics, and I thought the function of man was to aim at peace in society and in the state. My boyish ambition was to regulate my personal conduct, to place my home on a peaceful basis, and to administer justice in the world by mastering the teachings of the ancient sages." (Subject H. S.)

"I did not receive any definitely religious training. The moral instruction was an informal one. I was reared in a decidedly Japanese atmosphere, and the educational influence which surrounded my boyhood was to mould a typically Japanese character. In it were the elements of 'loyalty to the sovereign,' of 'filial piety,' and of 'duty.' The stories relative and illustrative of these elements were very effective in my early days, and aroused in me a high aspiration. Strictly speaking, my parents were irreligious, but in a broad sense, they had their own religion, and that religion was the spirit of 'self-confidence.' It was the *Kokoro*, the conscience, as the moralist would style, which was honored as the criterion of righteousness. This may seem primitive, but it was fundamental from their point of view." (Subject T. U.)

¹⁰⁰ Yasutaro Naide, in the *Christian World*, No. 1180 (1906), p. 9.

¹⁰¹ Taro Ando: *The Story of My Conversion in Hawaii*, Tokyo, 15th ed., 1910, p. 2.

¹⁰² A Japanese couplet written by Michizane. The term "Makoto" means literally truth or reality, i. e., the essence of things. It forms the very foundation of moral concepts.

Sometimes the atmosphere assumes an intellectual and moral aspect, and this necessarily takes from the home life all practices and customs of religious devotion. Subject Y. O. says:

"My grandparents were of the thorough-going Samurai class, and my parents were trained in a knightly atmosphere. They were, however, very liberal and did not adhere to any religious sect. My father was responsive to the call of modern liberalism, and educated one of his sons in Russian, while my younger brother and I were taught English. My family descended to the rank of the common people, and traveling through America and China, championed the cause of liberalism. My mother was an efficient home-ruler in the absence of my father; and we children spent our youthful days in an affectionate home environment, but we do not remember our attending church or temple services. I only recall, though very vaguely, frequent visits to temples accompanying my grandmother. I do not know anything of my parents' religion. I only heard of my mother's adherence to the Hokke Sect of Buddhism."

"I had no particular religion in my childhood. My training was more of Bushido than anything else. The moral precepts that my mother used to give me were those of Buddhism, for my parents were Buddhist believers." (Subject H. T.)

Occasionally, among the converts, we find cases where home and other social surroundings of their youthful days were permeated with Christian influence. Among these subjects, the sudden religious awakening is almost absent. The gradual development is the more frequent experience.

"My home condition was different from the average Japanese family. My father has been a minister of the Gospel for the last forty years. Although I was not compelled to go through the routine of moral instruction or training, I grew up in a Christian environment, and my religious views had developed gradually and naturally." (Subject M. K.)

"When I was seven years old I began to go to the Sunday School where I received my Christian training until I left for America. I used to assist in the work of that Sunday School by teaching a class at times. During this period I encountered much opposition and persecution, which originated from my older friends and school-mates. Some of them refused to associate with me and others exercised physical violence upon me. In midst of all these oppositions, my mother alone was on my side and comforted me in those days of my boyish faith, and I attended the Sunday School without ceasing. This practice had a great influence in strengthening my faith. In matters of moral discipline, my father was very strict, and this had a good effect in developing in us a good manner in speech and behavior. He had no religion of his own; he followed Confucian teachings, not for their religious merits but only for their moral usefulness. My mother was a woman of many paradoxes. While she encouraged her children to be influenced by Christianity, she herself was a jealous adherent of the old traditional view of life. She was of the opinion that it is below human dignity to know anything about calculation of money. Thus, if she had to purchase vegetables or fish in front of her children, she would simply ask the vender to give her the goods desired and promise to pay later when the children were not the

spectators of the bartering act. Again, I remember on one festive day, I made fun of a drunkard on the street. At first he was of good humor, but our continued ridicule caused him to chase us and I was finally caught in front of my house. I apologized and begged his pardon in order to escape any violent revenge from his hands. As my mother watched this scene, she was greatly disappointed, for she would tell me it is not worthy of a Samurai's son to beg the pardon of a street drunkard." (Subject Y. I.)

"My parents were Buddhist believers, though not very devoted. They were reared in the atmosphere of Bushido, and they had a profound regard for the teachings of Confucius and Mencius. Their taste for literature and art was excellent and had a habit of cleanliness and good house-government. I was greatly influenced by their ways of life and received good training from the precepts of Confucius and Mencius." (Subject S. S.)

In examining the data given above of the early religious and moral training which the Japanese converts had experienced, we are impressed, first of all, by its somewhat unnatural completeness, reaching in some case almost to a degree of precocity. It may be said, however, that the average Japanese parent had very inadequate ideas as to the developing organism of the child, and it was not uncommon to see difficult Chinese classics and moral codes, written by such masters as Confucius and Mencius, forming at least a part of the curriculum of home education. In the second place, we are to note a queer combination of diverse elements that go to make up the religious and moral atmosphere of Japan. There are very few families where any one religion enjoys the undivided devotion of the household members. This may be explained on the basis of the long cultural history that these component religions have had in Japan. They are so ingrained in the minds of the Japanese that they are not able to separate them entirely one from the other. There is, in the third place, an agnostic element in the early surroundings of the Japanese youths, and this shades off into the decidedly anti-religious trend. But, in the fourth place, we note the Christian influence that is slowly creeping into the religious life of the Japanese. From the point of view of moral training, we note that the predominant spirit is that of Bushido, the Soul of Japan. Confucian influence in moral conduct has much weight, together with the ethnic habits of cleanliness, strictness, politeness, etc. With this rather rapid analysis of the youthful days of our converts, we will now turn to the change that comes into their lives.

3. THE INTELLECT IN CONVERSION

It is now a well known fact that the religious experience involves the totality of the psychic life, and that no single element can be detached to account for any of the products of the religious consciousness.¹⁰³ Yet it is an undeniable fact that individuals differ in the matter of choosing the avenue through which they enter the sacred precinct of religious life. The aim of the religious psychologist in treating the subject of intellect is not to find evidence for the place of intellect in the religious consciousness, but rather to find an explanation for the fact that it involves the intellectual element in more or less degree. It is with this purpose in mind that we venture to undertake the discussion in this section.

It has been argued frequently that the psychology of mental types explains the predominance of intellect in one set of individuals and the lack of it in another. This, however, is not wholly satisfactory. Only very recently, Professor Dawson launched an ingenious scheme of classifying the religious consciousness of individuals according to the two types and their subdivisions.¹⁰⁴ The two types that he finds in his investigations are the object-minded and the subject-minded. The former divides itself into the sensory-motor types and the sensory-reflective-motor or the balanced type; the latter is divided into sensory-reflective and the reflective-motor types. Applying this system of classification to the facts of religious life, he says:

"The objective-minded individual conceives of God, Heaven, the soul, righteousness, salvation, etc., under their more concrete and dynamic aspects; while the symbolic-minded (subjective) individual conceives of them under their more abstract and static aspect. God and the human soul, for the objective-thinker, are essentially immanent. Such a thinker finds it hard to understand the transcendent conception of these great entities of human thought. On the other hand, the symbolic thinker conceives of God and the human soul as essentially transcendent, and considers the object-minded thinker's disposition to relate God to the forces of nature, and the human soul to physiological processes, as pantheistic and materialistic. Righteousness, sin, and salvation, for the object-minded religionist, are qualities of dynamic character; for the symbolic-minded religionist, they are rather forms of adjustment to religious standards, and have, to a greater or less degree, a symbolic meaning. Religion, in short, for the object-minded individual is a mode of life; while for the symbolic-minded individual, it is primarily and essentially a mode of belief, faith or feeling. The symbolic-minded individual, in his religious experiences, worships the Word; the object-minded individual, the Deed."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ E. S. Ames: *The Psychology of Religious Experience*, pp. 297 ff.

¹⁰⁴ G. E. Dawson: "Suggestions for the Inductive Study of the Religious Consciousness," *Journ. of Rel. Psychol. and Educ.*, Vol. VII (1913), pp. 50-58.

¹⁰⁵ pp. 55 f.

Dawson applied this scheme to the Japanese students he studied and concludes: "Every Japanese student in my classes, thus far tested, has been predominantly object-minded, both in the experimental analysis made of him and his reactions to religious and philosophical problems discussed in the class."

From such a statement as this, it might be assumed that the Japanese are all object-minded; but we should doubt the validity of this proposition, without much further proof. Again, one of the most prominent thinkers of modern Japan has said:

"To us Orientals, who depend more upon our sight than upon logic for the establishment of Truth, the philosophy that I was taught in my New England college is of comparatively little use in clearing up our doubts and spiritual phantasmagorias. I believe nobody made a greater mistake than those Unitarian and other intellectually-minded missionaries, who thought that we Orientals are intellectual peoples, and hence we must be intellectually converted to Christianity. We are poets and not scientists, and the labyrinth of syllogism is not the path by which we arrive at the truth."¹⁰⁰

And yet Professor Stratton who quoted this statement adds: "A Japanese who has obtained distinction in his native land once told me that in his young days he found a kind of Bible in Mill's Logic!"

In spite of the fact that some writers have attempted to demonstrate the unintellectual nature of the Japanese people, we must see some indications of its existence in the cases we have collected in the present study. Mr. T. Ando, who began to study the Bible, relates his intellectual struggle as follows:

"First I was initiated in the genealogy of Jesus, which caused me much trouble because of numerous proper nouns, followed by Joseph's dream, and the coming of three doctors from the East. (Such a story seems as if it had been patterned after the ordinary Oriental myths.) But patience compelled me to proceed, but alas! I had to give it up by all means, for I found therein the same old miracle stories. Then I said to myself: 'If this book were free from such foolish stories, I would have been able to read it through at least once!' But I thought it over again and endeavored to continue reading it, and asked for a suggestion or two from one of the American missionaries who let me take a small anonymous pamphlet entitled, *Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation*. This pamphlet explained the importance of Christianity for the following reasons: (1) Man is a religious being, and must worship something. (This, however, persuaded me to the contrary.) (2) Worship implies utter subjection on the part of the worshipper to the object of worship—arguing thus the inferiority of idolatry and advancing the hypothesis of the superiority of Christian God; and (3) Christianity has a convincing argument against atheism. (The argument was very minute and logical to me.) I, of course, had believed in a mysterious power which governs and transforms the universe, but I conceived of it as something different from what the Christian would call God. When one attains a perfect understanding

¹⁰⁰ Quoted by G. M. Stratton: *Psychology of the Religious Life*, 1912, p. 23.

of the nature of God, he attains a real enlightenment of his soul and all difficulties and mysteries of the world would be solved, as if a huge engine begins to move when the steam is sent through its pipes. But in order to have a perfect knowledge of God, one must believe in God who is all-wise and almighty, invisible, omnipresent, loving, pure and honest and possessing all other divine qualities; and also believe in all the revelations, precepts, prophecies and laws. But in the Bible, the one thing which greatly hindered my faith was the so-called miracles,—the decidedly irrational factor, and this made me abandon the notion of the divine revelations. This pamphlet contained a number of reasonable and plain accounts of the miracles, and I was convinced thereby that the reason why we cannot understand perfectly the miraculous element in the Bible was because I did not clearly recognize the divine as distinguished from the human. Just as the lower animals could by no means understand perfectly the behavior of human beings, so we as human beings would never completely apprehend the divine purposes. Such was the general trend of argument as presented in that booklet. Undoubtedly there would be no end to the discussion on the subject but the general course of reasoning seemed to be fair. After an extended reference and contemplation, I at last came to my own conviction that human wisdom is insufficient for a perfect understanding of the divine wisdom; and with this conviction I resumed the study of the Bible. The miracles which had formerly been the obstacles in my procedure, lost their seeming irrationality and gradually I was led to believe that the value of the Bible lies to some extent in the presence of the miraculous. But such a discovery was attained only after a long period of intellectual struggle."¹⁰⁷

In the above case, we have a type of intellectual conversion which, for the lack of a better term, may be called intellectual self-surrender. The human intellect often attempts to know the unknowable, but when the limit comes, there ensues a great struggle and yet the unknowable remains unknowable for the average intellect. The only way of overcoming this struggle is to surrender the finite to the infinite. This is the situation which is so excellently narrated by Mr. Ando. Rev. H. Kozaki's experience adds further light on the subject:

"It is of little doubt that God exists, and the doctrine of immortality is a comparatively easy matter to believe. Especially as to the existence of God, my attention was first called in the course of my study in astronomy and geology, and thought of the universal design, and I came to believe in Him. But as to the divinity of Christ, salvation and miracles, I could not solve the riddles. I contemplated on these themes, conferred with others, and consulted the books on apologetics, but all in vain Once I thought of abandoning entirely my attempt at religious inquiry, but this I never could do. And yet, I could not believe in it. Thus, in the state of semi-doubt, I spent my weary days more than a year. The pains of worry and doubt during this period seem to find no analogy anywhere. As a result my nervous system gave way, and I became an inmate of a hospital for over a month. About this time, Messrs. Ebina, Yokoi and Kanamori used to visit me frequently and we all engaged in the discussion of religious matters. Ordinarily I could easily put up an argument not inferior to theirs, but, during this period of doubt, I could not match

¹⁰⁷ *Story of my Conversion in Hawaii*, pp. 8-20, (abridged).

them in debate. And often when I called on Captain Janes, I was in a state of great anxiety for fear he might ask questions regarding my faith, to which I felt I could offer no answer. This state of mind is well expressed by the writer of the Epistle of James, 'For he that moveth is like a wave of the sea driven with the wind and tossed a double minded man is unstable in all his ways.' (James 1:6-8) But one evening I called on Captain Janes in order to receive illumination on my doubts. He quoted a verse, 'For what man knoweth things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? Even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the spirit of God.' (I Cor. 2:11). He said that a horse or a dog would not comprehend things of the human kind, and even among the human kind, the less learned would not fully understand the actions of the more learned; and so the human can never completely understand things belonging to Almighty God. At this simple advise, a new light dawned in my mind; I was mistaken, for I tried to measure God's mind by the human. There is no possibility of full comprehension; God's mind must be measured by the God's spirit. On the same day, Mr. Ebina called on me and advised me to pray. Hitherto I had been of the opinion that we may thank God, but should never pray and ask; but from about this time I came to realize that matters religious must be comprehended by receiving the spirit of God."¹⁰⁰

Mrs. Hirooka, one of the active Christian women of today, has the following experience:

" As for Christianity, I rather despised it. I felt strongly the importance of education, and especially of woman's education, and I did all in my power to help in the establishment of the Woman's University; and, feeling the need of more learning for myself, I attended lectures and read. Though only in a slight way, I studied ethics, philosophy, psychology, and sociology, and my knowledge of practical difficulties made them very interesting to me. I felt as if my heart were a ploughed but yet unsown field, into which seed was being sown. I rejoiced in attaining to knowledge, and yet my spiritual life was not satisfied. . . . I was perplexed to know where I should find spiritual life. Should I seek for it in Buddhism, of which I had heard a good deal, or in Shintoism? I had looked upon Shinto as an ethical system; and as for Buddhism, though one can conquer the desires of this world through it, yet I felt that it did not help me in my longing for the Infinite. I had rather despised Christianity, but I now thought that I would like to study that of which I knew, so I applied to the pastor, Mr. Miyagawa, for teaching. At the beginning I asked him to teach me theology, and I brought forward my own questions and wished them answered. At first I was very argumentative, and then I became silenced; each time I was taught I, more and more, realized the ideal personality of Christ, and at last I had the joy of feeling that through the living personality of Christ I came in touch with Truth. The self that had relied on its own powers became abhorrent, and I realized with humility that I was nothing more than a helpless and ignorant child. Not only so, but the personality of Christ became to me as the longed for light of the sun. If I could only gaze at it, surely even my miserable self would be drawn upwards. But I have not yet attained to the childlike living heart that can say Abba Father, and though with my brain I can understand Christ's prayer on the cross for His enemies, yet in my heart I cannot imitate it. Through it, however, I have come to realize

¹⁰⁰ *My Experiences of Twenty-five Years*, (somewhat abridged).

the transcendent personality of Christ. Among the four world-teachers (Christ, Buddha, Confucius and Socrates) I can best understand the life and teaching of Confucius; from my own experience when facing death, I feel that I could attain to the attitude of Socrates, who was in no way dismayed when drinking the poison; Gautama, reflecting on old age, sickness, death and poverty, trampled under his feet the desires of this world: this I might do; but Christ's heart of love which had pity on His enemies seems to me to be the heart of God, and I sorrowfully realize that I cannot attain to it. I have, however, come to realize the joy of quiet prayer, and with prayer and reading of the Scriptures I approach the Living Personality and earnestly desire to feel the Spirit of God descend upon me."¹⁰⁹

Here the same type of intellectual self-surrender is seen as in the first case.

Another consideration of the intellectual element in conversion leads us to the psychology of meaning as applied to the conversion phenomena. We give first the cases and afterwards attempt an interpretation. Rev. U. Sugita remarks:

"The motive for my belief in Christianity is based on the fact that it is the religion of civilized people and that its teachings are rational and its morality practical. Later in my religious development, I consulted books on Apologetics and came to understand the existence of God, but never had the experience of coming in touch with the personality of God. In the spring of the seventeenth year of Meiji (1884), I realized that God was the Father of all mankind; then I felt as if I was being embraced in the warm hands of this Father and found the real rest in life. I had lost my earthly father long ago, but I found in God a greater Father who was the source of a real comfort to me. This experience gave a new meaning to the Scriptures and a sense of pleasure to prayer, and taught me that there was nothing that can 'separate me from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus.' And this has been the governing faith of my life ever since."¹¹⁰

Somewhat similar experience is given, in his own words, by J. H. Nee-sima:¹¹¹

"A day I visited my friend, and I found a small Holy Bible in his library, that was written by some American Minister in China language and had shown only the most remarkable events of it. I lend it from him and read it at night. I was afraid that savage country's law, which if I read the Bible will cross (*i. e.*, crucify) my whole family. . . . The opening sentence of this book was, 'In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.' He says: 'I put down the book and look around me, saying, who made me? My parents? No, my God. God made my parents and let them make me. Who made my table? A carpenter? No, my God. God let trees grow upon the earth; although a carpenter made up this table, it indeed came from trees; then I must be thankful to God. I must believe him, and I must be upright against him.' He at once recognized his Maker's claim to love and obedience, and began to yield them;"

¹⁰⁹ "How I Became Interested in Christianity," *East and West*, Vol. X (1912), pp. 306, 307.

¹¹⁰ *Christian World*, No. 1180, p. 9.

¹¹¹ This quotation of Mr. Nee-sima's actual wording is taken from J. D. Davis: *A Maker of New Japan*, 1894, pp. 201.

This, however, was only the beginning of his conviction; the later development is still interesting:

"While they lay on the steamship *Wild Rover* in the harbor of Hongkong, Mr. Neesima found a New Testament in Chinese; he thought that he must have it, but how should he get it, since he had promised to ask the Captain for no money? He thought of his sword, and he finally sold it and bought the New Testament. . . . During his life of a year on the *Wild Rover*, he began to read his New Testament in the Chinese language, but he began at Matthew and read on in course through Matthew, Mark, and Luke, and in the midst of the voyage he came to the 16th verse of the third chapter of John: 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life,' and this made a very deep impression upon him, and he felt that this was just such a Savior as he needed."¹¹³

The intellectual type does not as a rule receive impetus from social pressure. It works out on its own accord. Affection and other religious sentiments evolve after an intelligent study of the religious literature. The case of H. Yokoi is in point:

"Born in 1809, Yokoi became, in the forties, a keen and critical student of religion and ethics. The Confucian philosophy and its various schools of exposition, formed, of necessity, his culture. The issue was an ardent exponent of Oyomeism—so much like Stoicism and the pragmatism that identifies knowledge and action; in a word, whatever be the limitation of space or mind—the dominant idea in Greek thought and its Christian theology. Invited to become a lecturer at Fukui in Echizen, he held, thrice a month, in the castle hall, a service, attended by the *Daimio*, or baron, and his chief men, which in outward form and solemnity, held by reverend men in their best garb was much like our Sunday. Hearing of 'the new teachings' beyond the sea, he sent to Shanghai, secured a copy of the Gospel in Chinese—the 'Latin' of Japan, and read eagerly. He was amazed; in all literature he had never met with such a character. Both brain and heart were stirred. He fell in love with Jesus, the Christ. Without seeing a missionary or knowing of a church he became a Christian."¹¹⁴

Bishop Hiraiwa speaks of his own experience as follows:

"My faith has grown gradually, and I never experienced a sudden religious awakening. The first entry was from the side of ethics; later I was interested in the study of natural sciences, into which I used to project a religious significance; finally I studied the relation of the evolutionary theory to the creation myth of the Bible. At last I came to know the existence of the Great Law in the universe."¹¹⁵

Our interpretation of the religious experience in its intellectual aspect is found, partly at least, in the psychology of meaning and understanding. The average Japanese has a certain degree of religious consciousness which is a result of his natural training. But the process

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 301.

¹¹⁴ "Christianity of Yokoi Heishiro, the Modern Proto-Christian Martyr," by W. E. Griffin, *How. Rev.*, Vol. LIX, pp. 352 ff.

¹¹⁵ *Christian World*, No. 1183 (May 3, 1906), p. 4.

of cognitive development urges him on to find still more complex reality in the universe of meanings. In the course of such a development, he meets with the religion of Jesus. His intellect at once begins to experience a series of reactions between his native intellect and the body of truths given by Christianity. The process of successful relating of his native intellect and the newly introduced body of knowledge means apprehension of the situation. This process of reaction or the relating experience is not always easy, and may involve a period of doubt or other forms of struggle, which however, is only a step in the course of full apprehension. Professor Dewey has made clear to us the rhythmical character of the process of understanding. Our intellect 'progresses by an interaction of the indirect and direct understanding. "We reflect in order that we may get hold of the full and adequate significance of what happens. Nevertheless, *something* must be already understood, the mind must be in possession of some meaning which it has mastered, or else thinking is impossible."¹¹⁸

The average Japanese has an apperceptive mass of his own, a natively trained intellect and a world of meaning which corresponds to it. When he comes in contact with Christianity, he reflects upon it, in order to interpret it in terms of the knowledge he already possesses. If he succeeds in interpreting the body of knowledge given by Christianity, he increases thereby the scope of his world of meaning, *i. e.*, he truly understands what Christianity is and becomes converted. The mechanism of acquiring meaning, then, is a comparatively simple process. It is the old experience going into the new. Religiously applied, it is the ethnic religion finding a fuller and richer content in the religion of Christ. That such a process, when once acquired, is more permanent than a mere alteration of emotional life, needs perhaps no elaboration. It may involve sometimes a severe struggle, but the end is bright. This is the fundamental theory of religious education. If thought is a distinguishing mark of human beings as compared with brutes, then, in the religious training of the human young, this phase of mental life ought to receive an emphasis greater than any other side of human interest. There is surely a need for educating the thought life for the sake of religious development as much as for the sake of the inherent value of thought itself.

¹¹⁸ John Dewey: *How We Think*, pp. 119f.

4. SOCIAL PROCESSES IN CONVERSION

We have seen that the intellect has played a prominent part in converting some of our subjects to the logic of Christianity. We are now to consider another important factor which brings about the same experience. In cases where the intellect predominates, the process of conversion is more or less a self-directed and self-conscious affair, *i. e.*, the individual having some understanding of religious experience, deliberates upon the newly introduced religion, interprets it in terms of his own experience and finally accepts it. In the cases which we are now to consider, the conversion experience involves an emotional element, depending upon the process of imitation and suggestion in a social atmosphere. The presence of the emotional factor in conversion has led many thinkers to adopt the emotional theory of religious experience, though some strongly object to identifying religion with any such artificially sliced piece of consciousness.¹¹⁶ At any rate, we have here the subjects who were converted under social pressure. The process is almost always unconsciously carried out and at times against the will of the subject experiencing, but such an unconscious and coercive step proves later to be favorable in his religious development.

A singular case of social pressure brought to bear upon the convert is that of K. Uchimura whose narrative is very illuminating:

"I was then a freshman in a new government college, whereby the effort of a New England Christian Scientist,¹¹⁷ the whole of the upper class. . . . had already been converted to Christianity. The imperious attitude of the sophomores toward the 'baby freshmen' is the same the world over, and when to it was added a new religious enthusiasm and spirit of propagandism, their impression upon the poor 'freshies' can easily be imagined. They tried to convert the freshies by storm; but there was one among the latter who thought himself capable of not only withstanding the combined assault of the 'sophomoric rushes,' (in this case, religion-rush, not cane-rush), but even of reconverting them to their old faith. But alas! mighty men around me were falling, and surrendering to the enemy. I alone was left a 'heathen,' the much detested idolator, the incorrigible worshipper of wood and stones.

"I well remember the extremity and loneliness to which I was reduced then. The public opinion of the college was too strong against me, which was beyond my power to withstand. They forced me to sign the covenant given below, somewhat in a manner of extreme temperance men prevailing upon an incorrigible drunkard to sign a temperance pledge. I finally yielded and signed it. I often ask myself whether I ought to have refrained from submitting myself to such a coercion. I was but a

¹¹⁶ Irving King would say: "Since there is no such thing as a *merely* emotional reaction, it would appear that the student of religious phenomena could never properly define religion as emotional or anything *else per se*." *The Development of Religion*, p. 56.

¹¹⁷ President Clark of Sapporo Agricultural College is meant here, and not a man belonging to the sect of Christian Science.

mere lad of sixteen then, and the boys who thus forced me 'to come in' were all much bigger than I. So, you see, my first step toward Christianity was a forced one, against my will, and I must confess, somewhat against my conscience, too. The covenant I signed read as follows:

Covenant of Believers in Jesus

"The undersigned members of S. A. College, desiring to confess Christ according to His command, and to perform with true fidelity every Christian duty in order to show our love and gratitude to that blessed Savior who has made atonement for our sins by His death on the cross; and earnestly wishing to advance His kingdom among men for the promotion of His glory and the salvation of those for whom He died, do solemnly covenant with God and with each other from this time forth to be His faithful disciples, and to live in strict compliance with the letter and the spirit of His teaching; and whenever a suitable opportunity offers, we promise to present ourselves for examination, baptism, and admission to some evangelical church.

"We believe the Bible to be the only direct revelation in language from God to man, and the only perfect and infallible guide to a glorious future life.

"We believe in one everlasting God who is our Merciful Father, our just and sovereign Ruler, and who is to be our final Judge.

"We believe that all who sincerely repent and by faith in the Son of God obtain the forgiveness of their sins, will be graciously guided to this life by the Holy Spirit and protected by the watchful providence of the Heavenly Father, and so at length prepared for the enjoyment and pursuits of the redeemed and holy ones; but that all who refuse to accept the invitation of the Gospel must perish in their sins, and be forever banished from the presence of the Lord.

"The following commandments we promise to remember and obey through all the vicissitudes of our earthly lives:

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind, and thy neighbor as thyself.

"Thou shalt not worship any graven image or any likeness of any created being or thing.

"Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.

"Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy, avoiding all unnecessary labor and devoting it as far as possible to the study of the Bible and the preparation of thyself and others for a holy life.

"Thou shalt obey and honor thy parents and rulers.

"Thou shalt not commit murder, adultery, or other impurities, theft or deception.

"Thou shalt do no evil to thy neighbor.

"Pray without ceasing.

"For mutual assistance and encouragement we hereby constitute ourselves an association under the name "Believers in Jesus," and we promise faithfully to attend one or more meetings each week while living together, for the reading of the Bible or other religious books or papers, for conference and for social prayer; and we sincerely desire the manifest presence in our hearts of the Holy Spirit to quicken our love, to strengthen our faith, and to guide us into a saving knowledge of the truth!"

'S.—March 5, 1877.'

"The whole was framed in English by the American Christian Scientist mentioned before, himself a graduate of, and once a professor in, one of the most evangelical

of the New England colleges. His own signature was followed by those of fifteen of his students, and my classmates swelled the number to over thirty. My name, I suppose, stood the last but one or two."¹¹⁸

On reading through such a covenant, we do not wonder that the act of signing the name must have been one of blind imitation or coercion. It is a psychological absurdity that a believer in many gods could suddenly forsake his old view and become convinced of the truth of many doctrines such as incorporated in the above covenant. But, however blind the initial step may have been, it later became a means of religious growth. A similarly interesting case is found in the experience of Rev. H. Kozaki:

"At that time there came to pass an incident which greatly moved my heart, and that was the persecution which my schoolmates had to suffer. I had graduated from the English School¹¹⁹ in 1875, and served as grammar school teacher and later as instructor in the state academy. I was not a student in that school, therefore, when the said persecution took place. From the autumn of 1875 up to the beginning of 1876, a remarkable revival was witnessed in the school. Many Christian meetings were held for the students, and many of the more devoted Christians attempted to spend the entire night in prayer, and school work was sadly neglected. As a result of this movement, however, the school turned out some fifty or sixty converts. Toward the end of January, 1876, these converts resolved to take an oath of allegiance to a definitely formulated creed. This movement was conducted entirely by the students themselves, and even Captain Janes was not aware of it. The creed as thus formulated comprised three articles of faith: (1) The believer must sacrifice his life for the sake of his faith and country; (2) He must engage himself in fraternal intercourse with cobelievers and realize mutual aid; and (3) He must properly conduct himself as a believer, keep his repute unspotted, and suffer suspension in case of disorderly conduct. Those who signed the above creed numbered about forty-five. I was requested to attend the meeting when this creed was to be signed; but owing to my doubtful situation, I declined the invitation.

"But when the news of such a movement spread among the parents of these juvenile converts, a great commotion ensued. They were tremendously astonished, and immediately summoned their converted sons to their side and forced them to abandon their newly acquired faith. One was threatened that if he were obstinate his mother would commit suicide; another received a sentence of confinement in a cell for several months; still another was told that his father would butcher him and was actually under the blade of a sword, but the converted youth was quite content to be executed by his father, and on the expression of his courage and conviction, the angry father was so moved that he failed to accomplish his act. I was in deep sympathy with my persecuted schoolmates, and rendered them no small assistance in private. My situation then was like that of Joseph of Arimathea or of Nicodemus and, as I had not professed my faith openly, the parents of these schoolmates allowed

¹¹⁸ K. Uchimura: *How I Became a Christian*, 1895, pp. 11-14.

¹¹⁹ This school was in Kumamoto headed by Captain Janes, under whose instruction many present day Christian leaders were reared.

me to associate with their sons. But, as for me, this was an opportunity for great encouragement and strengthened me in deciding to accept the Christian faith."¹²⁰

The spirit of hero-worship and evaluation of characters are sometimes the leading factors in bringing about the conversion experience. T. Kobayashi had the following experience:¹²¹

"In the year 1888, when he was an employ   in a store in Kobe, he took a walk with his friend one evening. As they were passing by a theatre, he noticed a bill-post in front advertising a meeting that evening for the defense of Buddhism against Christianity. Curiosity prompted them to enter. There they found a Buddhist priest of some repute, making somewhat superficial and illogical statements of the case against Christianity and creating a sense of disgust in their minds. But a few days later, it was advertised that a meeting of Christian ministers was to be held in the same theatre. As he was greatly interested in the combat of the two religions he attended it, expecting to hear a similar sort of apologetic speeches. To his surprise, however, he found the Christian audience to be exceedingly quiet, the preachers absolutely sincere and humble, and their reasoning logical. Mr. Kobayashi was greatly impressed with the speeches. This, he thought, must be a religion far superior in nature to Buddhism. In the course of a speech by one of the speakers, Mr. Kobayashi noticed a young Buddhist priest in one corner of the balcony, continuously trying to interrupt the speaker—a fact which, to Mr. Kobayashi, seemed to be very ungentlemanly. The continued attempt of the young Buddhist disturbed the peace of the meeting. At this moment, however, a heavy tall man appeared from the back of the stage and approached the young priest who was temporarily the center of public attention. Then there arose a murmur in the audience: 'He is a teacher of *Jiu-jitsu*, and he can force the priest out of the building.' Mr. Kobayashi was relieved somewhat at this rumor, and was looking back toward the Buddhist priest in the balcony. But, contrary to his and others' expectation, that big Christian man was seen bowing down repeatedly before the ungentlemanly priest. He was entreating the Buddhist friend to be quiet at least during the speech. At the sight of such an act, Mr. Kobayashi was more than greatly moved. He saw the true greatness of the Christian religion, which was shown in the behavior of that man, which the Buddhist could not even imitate. He remembered neither the preachers nor the content of their speeches, but the manly behavior of that Christian left an unforgettable impression upon his mind. At the close of the meeting, he notified the chairman of the evening of his desire to study further the truths of the Christian religion. Then, through an introduction by a Christian friend, he began to pursue the study under Rev. T. Osada, then the pastor of the Tamon Congregational Church, and at the same time he so arranged for some of his friends to join him in the study of Christianity."

Similar experiences are the following:

"At the age of twenty I went to Tokyo to study the Oriental classics at the Philosophical Institute. About that time, as I remember, I began to hear of the Christian religion and attended a preaching service in the home of a missionary. I was not impressed by the sermon—the preacher was expounding the prophecy of Daniel, which, however, gave a sense of the supernatural—but rather I was attracted by

¹²⁰ *My Experiences of Twenty-five Years*, p. 6.

¹²¹ N. Kato: *The Life of Tomijiro Kobayashi*, pp. 44-47.

his kind attitude to all, by the beautiful tunes of the hymns and by the warmth of the room heated by a stove, which I had never experienced in the ordinary Japanese home. (I remember it was in the winter.) Later I entered Aoyama Gakuin (Methodist Academy in Tokyo) to study English. Some of the students in this institution were self-governing and knew the value of the individual, and I was greatly moved by the fact that they were cultivating individual morality by personal efforts. I had hitherto been a mere passive imitator in matters of personal culture, but I became ashamed of my past attitude. Again, the gentlemanly fashion in which the teachers treated the pupils gave me a sense of self-respect and endeavor." (Subject S. M.)

"At last, after a long resistance, I attended the Bible class for once. There was one thing which touched my heart, and that was the prayer of Captain Janes. Everyone bowed down his head during the prayer, but I kept my eyes open, and watched intently the captain's face as he prayed. He became more and more earnest, as he went on praying, until at last tears of sincerity rolled down upon his cheeks,—a fact which struck me with a great deal of emotion. I had listened to a number of scholars in Chinese classics, but it was the first time that I came in direct touch with a man of such earnestness. It was a wonder to me, and I thought Christianity must have a wonderful power and at last I became a student of the Christian religion." (Rev. H. Kozaki.)

"Then I came to America,—it was about nine years ago; I was twenty years of age. I joined the Japanese Y. M. C. A., then located on Haight Street, San Francisco, not particularly because it was a Christian institution, but because I happened to stay there. I had not been there long, however, before I began to feel the Christian influence that permeated that place, more exactly as expressed in the personality of Dr. Sturge, the superintendent. In fact, from the very moment I met him, I had already been impressed by his lofty, modest and infinitely kind character, though he did not speak a word to me. I made up my mind to study English under him. I did not learn the language much; but I did learn to respect and love him, and through him the Christian virtues. He preached sermons too, and I always listened to his words reverently, for what he spoke was, to me, the reflection of his noble character. I began to be interested in the Christian religion for the first time in my life,—not in the religion as such, however, but in the Christian virtues as exemplified in the personality of Dr. Sturge." (Subject K. T.)

"In the year 1886, I was appointed by the government to become the consul general of the Hawaiian Islands where I was ordered to stay for three and one-half years. When I reached there, I found about three thousand Japanese laborers whose conduct was astonishingly corrupt. I did my best to reform their mode of life by giving them precepts and admonitions, but all in vain; their conduct grew from bad to worse, until I found myself in great bewilderment. . . . About that time, Mr. K. Miyama, a Christian missionary, came from San Francisco and preached the Gospel among these laborers with the purpose of changing their personal behavior. To my great surprise, his work resulted in the destruction of dice and wine glasses, and everyone seemed to have experienced a sudden change in his mode of living. When I witnessed such a remarkable fact, I was compelled to acknowledge the work of the Christian religion in man's moral life and to pay respect to that once-hated religion. This was really the beginning of my contact with Christianity." (Taro Ando.)

"At fourteen years of age, I came to Kobe to study Chinese classics, Arithmetic and English, and the teacher was a Christian. He asked me to go to the church, but I would not. One evening there was a great Christian meeting in one of the large theatres of the city. My teacher again asked me to attend and this time I did. I had been brought up in a home where Christianity was a taboo; consequently I despised all Christians and had no use for religious practices, especially such as prayer. But from this time on I began to become unprejudiced towards Christianity and I used to hear many Bible stories. Soon I went to Nagano to live with a relative who was a judge. His wife was an earnest Christian and she asked me if I were a Christian. I became very much attached to this woman and Christianity as she showed me seemed to be very different from what I had previously conceived of. I began to attend the Sunday School of the church of which she was a member. But still such matters as prayer, God-experience and miracles were a profound mystery to me. We used to discuss these subjects frequently. I also read the Bible. In the meantime, it happened that her daughter died. She would say that her faith was lacking and go out and kneel down beside the grave and pray. I used to accompany her and pray too, for the first time. A little later I was a victim of typhoid fever and this prompted my decision to become a Christian. And in December of my fifteenth year I was baptized in spite of my mother's opposition." (Subject M. S.)

"When I was about ten years old, I attended the Sunday School, conducted by the Azabu middle school, though I did not continue very long. It was at the age of twenty that I began to go to church. I was then in a state of exceeding loneliness, after having lost both my parents and grandparents, and was seeking some sort of comfort in life. I had the ambition of making something of myself and this hope was the only source of solace to my lonely soul. But I had no inclination of receiving any comfort by becoming a religious devotee. My ambition was of an entirely worldly nature. When I was in such a state of mental distress, there was an English teacher in our middle school who invited me one evening to a dinner. He treated me just as if I were a member of his family, and this warm and sympathetic reception accorded to me by a foreign teacher made a deep impression upon me, for I was hungry for a wholesome home environment, and in such a warm Christian home, I was made to experience in some degree the love of Christ. Although he was not a missionary, he was a true Christian, and his home was filled with Christian love and sympathy. Thus I did not listen to many sermons, nor consult many books; I only saw the light in the true Christian love which permeated the home of this Christian teacher. I continued to attend the church and about one year later I was baptized." (Subject Y. O.)

"When I was sixteen years of age, I came spiritually in touch with Christianity. I was alone in a large city, away from my parents. Loneliness was the only word which could adequately describe the state of my mind in those days, and even a small act of love and kindness had a great influence over me. I was in a position to understand Christian love. I experienced a great emotional upheaval, and the universe, the society and all other objects under the sun seemed to have undergone a complete change. I was filled with joy and became humble and the altruistic sentiment grew stronger." (Subject T. M.)

"When I began to go to church, the Christians would say things that I desired to say, and act in ways that I desired to act. This harmony of my mental inclination

with that of the Christians induced me to become one of their numbers." (Subject H. M.)

"When I went to church, I was impressed with the friendship of the Christians and with the spirit of love and sympathy which created its atmosphere. The more important religious side of the sermon was somewhat unintelligent to me, but its moral side was clear and a thrill of joy passed through my mind. I had no one who would stop me from attending the services, and when I continued for about two months, a Methodist preacher visited our church for a special evangelistic campaign. He preached earnestly and effectively on 'The Love of God.' My mind had been prepared, as it were, for this very occasion; I experienced a great emotional crisis, and at last I knelt down before Jesus Christ." (Subject J. K.)

The above cases prove the presence of the spirit of hero-worship and evaluation of character in the conversion experience. There is another fashion, however, in which the leaders of young men influence the process of conversion. This is rather involuntary on the part of the subjects experiencing conversion, and therefore there is usually no emotional excitement or sudden awakening. The subject M. K. says:

"It was when I was twenty-one years of age that I came to realize what Christianity was and to devote my life to its cause. Prior to that time I was egoistic. The reason for this turning was the consciousness of the earnest spirit of my father in his evangelistic work which I had been noticing, and also of the moral decline of society. I realized for the first time in my life that the devotion to the cause of Christianity was the most precious way of living."

The gradual influence of the Sunday School in the case of our subject Y. O. is as follows:

"Thus I have little to say concerning the real experience of conversion. I was baptized at sixteen years of age; I did not jump suddenly, but gradually slid in, so to speak."

A somewhat unusual case of social influence, together with the birth of the sense of sin is found in our next subject, Y. B.:

"When I was very young, I used to hear of the persecution which the early Christian believers in Japan had suffered at the hands of the government. I used to know some native converts of Greek Catholicism and their conduct was of the best moral quality; consequently my impression of Christianity was very favorable. When I graduated from the grammar school, one of my friends came to spend his vacation in my home, who tried to persuade me to attend the same mission school that he was attending. I consented. At first I held in contempt all those students in mission schools, who called themselves Christians, for they were not brilliant in their studies and appeared to me to be a sort of time-servers. One of my classmates (who was ahead of me in school studies) was baptized and became a changed man, and I began to wonder for the first time if Christianity had really a power to transform a man's life. I then began to reflect upon my own character and conduct. I came in touch with some refined missionaries, but they all failed to reach the very depths of my heart. (This may be the reason why the majority of missionaries are doing so poorly in Japan.) I struggled to live up to the moral ideal I then cherished, but failed repeatedly. The

pain of this failure to realize my ideal made me feel the terror of sin. I came to know gradually that the God whom Christ teaches is my Savior. I made up my mind definitely to enter into the new life in Him. I often prayed in the dead of the night, alone with tears. I could believe that God would forgive my sins."

The foregoing study of the social aspects of the conversion experience enables us to detect in it an emotional element, quite similar to that of the revival phenomena. Though they lack that suddenness and abruptness which characterize the experience of the evangelistic converts, yet the process reveals to us the operation of suggestion and imitation and their distinctively social nature. At times, it is almost a necessity for social coercion to play upon the individual's mind, in order to bring about the experience of conversion. Social coercion in the case of Mr. Uchimura, as we have seen, proved to be a happy initiatory step in the Christian career. This is undoubtedly a case of social crisis which influences externally the individual under the influence of the mass and by the strength of the social atmosphere. The externally induced condition may often appear to be artificial, but it is genuine with some individuals.

Again there are cases where the social influence plays upon the religious development of the individual not in such an abrupt and artificial fashion, but in a less striking and more natural way. This is frequently connected with the youthful spirit of hero-worship and of the admiration of the leaders whose lives arouse the feelings of respect and honor. The religion of such leaders appeals to the youthful minds as true and worthy. This following after the pattern is essentially a social process, and conversion here is a phase of imitation in a more complicated aspect.

The evaluation of character and social pressure, then, are the two main aspects that present themselves to us in the study of our cases, and thus force us to conceive the process of conversion as essentially a social one.

5. CONVERSION AS A PSYCHOLOGICAL CRISIS

Religion has often been regarded as an essential factor in the struggle for existence.¹²² By some religion has been viewed as a creation which satisfies the needs of man as he lives and exists in the world.¹²³ That such views are sometimes justifiable requires no elaboration. We have among our subjects those whose religiosity took a definite forward step when they encountered a serious crisis in their lives. Here is a subject whose testimony reveals the fact that he has been brought up

¹²² J. H. Leuba: "Religion as a Factor in the Struggle for Life," *Am. Journ. of Rel. Psychol. and Educ.* Vol. II, p. 307; G. B. Foster: *The Function of Religion in Man's Struggle for Existence*, Chicago, 1908.

¹²³ E. S. Ames: *The Psychology of Religious Experience*, pp. 33 ff.

in a non- or even anti-religious atmosphere, but became at once religious and devoted when he experienced a severe blow upon his personal and family welfare:

"When I was eighteen years of age, my mother's illness had suddenly changed and become extremely serious. The physician said: 'All is over; Heaven determined now her destiny!' When I heard these words, I felt a shiver passing through my limbs like an electric shock, and I said to myself: 'If my mother's life is now in the hands of Heaven, why should I not pray to Heaven with my true devotion?' But I knew nothing about this mysterious Heaven; nothing explained to me the nature of Heaven. The time sped on; I could not tarry any longer. I was led by something unconsciously and ran out to the well just outside of the house. I divested myself of all garments and poured three bucketfuls of cold water over my body and prayed, as if unconsciously, for the possible recovery of my mother. I could not, however, pray to Heaven, for I knew not what it was, and, therefore, I directed my prayer toward some deity of whom I had heard once before. This was the first time I ever attempted to pray. My prayer was not heard, but I could never forget this first prayer and the question which arose in my mind at that moment as to the meaning of Heaven. From this time on, I began to regard with respect even the practices of idol-worshippers and to seek something religiously myself. After about a year, I received an invitation from a friend to attend a Christian preaching service one evening. I accepted it and walked miles to attend the meeting. Little did I imagine that this was the meeting which gave me an opportunity to know of Heaven, of God, and even of the Lord of Creation. I returned home with a profound impression, and I spent most of that night in quiet meditation. The next day I called on the preacher and finally I found what I had been seeking. This was the time when I saw God, the Heavenly Father. My heart was filled with joy and gratitude, and I count this day as my spiritual birthday."¹²⁴

Subject K. Y. has this remarkable experience:

"In my last year, a little before graduation in the high school, a great change took place in my house. The veneer factory which my father owned caught fire and was totally destroyed. Owing to this unexpected disaster, I was informed that my father could no longer pay my school expenses to send me to the college which I expected to enter after finishing the high school. When I received this sad news from home I was exceedingly discouraged. I sought words of encouragement from my classmates, but could find and think of no true friend who would sympathize with me fully. I came back to my own room and walked to and fro. As I failed to get any solace from my comrades, I thought of Buddha and of the parable of the dry well.¹²⁵ I cried out to Buddha for sympathy."

"It was when I was fifteen years of age that I came into contact with Christianity. I became a clerk in a stock exchange firm and was appointed assistant to the treasurer, and took charge of the bookkeeping and acted as the cashier on many occasions. But owing to my youthful age, I was destined to experience a severe blow in my business career. It happened that there was a crook among my business associates, and he persuaded me to let him spend several thousand dollars and forced me to

¹²⁴ Yasutaro Naide: *Christian World*, No. 1180 (April 12, 1906).

¹²⁵ For the allusion of the dry well, see *supra*, p. 25.

destroy all the books that might become evidence of his mischief, since he was unable to return the amount. This fact, however, was finally discovered, and as the result of a conference, the stockholders themselves were made responsible for the loss. There was one person whose influence settled this event harmlessly, and that was the chairman of the trustees who believed in me and who was anxious for my future. I still remember him and admire him as a man of lofty character. But this bitter experience served to my mind as the beginning of a religious and moral life. About that time I fell into a hard spiritual struggle in quest of peace and happiness. For two weeks I could neither eat nor sleep, and it made me cry almost in the spirit of the man who cried: 'What shall I do to be saved?' From this time on, I decided to live on religious principles, and I found a Presbyterian divine who lived in our neighborhood and began to attend the church. I determined to become an efficient merchant and after graduating from a business school, I came to Tokyo and thence to Yokohama where I was preparing to enter the Higher Commercial College. It was during my stay there that I was baptized into a Presbyterian Church." (Subject S. S.)

Sometimes a physical disaster awakens a sense of sin and a desire to atone for personal misconduct. Subject K. W. says:

"At the age of eighteen I was tempted by an evil acquaintance who led me into the atmosphere of the brothel and prostitution. Unfortunately I became a victim of a dreadful venereal disease, and for half a year I suffered tremendously. During this period I felt, more vividly than I had ever dreamed, the evil of immorality, and that the philosophy I then entertained was not sufficient to solve the problem with which I was struggling. I had heard once that Christianity had excellent precepts particularly in respect to sexual relations and I began to take interest in the study of that religion in order to redeem my evil life and to attain to higher ideals. This was the first and the greatest step toward my conversion experience."

The sense of distress, the feeling of unwholeness, the consciousness of sin, etc., were found by Starbuck to be predominant as motives and emotional concomitants of conversion. Our subjects, however, show only in a limited degree the presence of such experiences. The phenomena of vision, together with the sense of sin and unwholeness, are exhibited in the following cases:

"The first step in the development of my religious experience was due to my meditation on the state of my own self—namely, I was a small insignificant creature. At this thought I became greatly vexed, for I knew not where I stood with reference to the Great Laws of the Universe. At times, I fasted; at times secluded myself in the mountains, and a feeling of oppression attacked my mind with unspeakable vividness. I felt as if I was caught by something. When asleep, I dreamed fearful dreams. In one of these dreams, I was surrounded by several armed men, and as I was greatly alarmed and excited, I killed a few of them and then I ran and awoke. Such dreams assailed me night after night. I frequently wiped the sweat off my body when I awoke in the morning. Again, I dreamed of a sudden fall from a high cliff. Each time I had a dream, a new feeling filled my mind. After the repetition of several of these fearful dreams, and after my sense of fear reached its summit, I consciously apprehended the meaning of the cross of Jesus, and came to know God through

Jesus Christ. The experience above narrated lasted for several years, from about 1874 to 1880."¹²⁶

"But in many ways, I was in the midst of evil habits which were in opposition to these religious practices. I was in the grip of many sins. The consciousness of these sins began when I was about six or seven years old and lasted until my twenty-first year,—particularly between the ages of fourteen and twenty. But it was during this period of my consciousness of sins that I was most religious, and I was greatly attached to philosophical writings which to my mind were the best things one could get." (Subject S. M.)

Kaku Imai¹²⁷ became interested in Christianity in Kobe where he was recuperating after having served for three years as the resident priest of a run-down temple in Hokkaido. He was broken down both in heart and in health. As he was strolling around the Ikuta Shrine one evening, his attention was called to a band of young men who were advertising a big evangelistic meeting in the city. He was somewhat in a receptive attitude; so he went to this meeting. Since then he came repeatedly in touch with Christians, and each time he was impressed with genuine personality of a Christian. He began to wonder if Christianity had really a power to transform human personality. And as he was longing for peace in his heart, he at last turned his inquisitive mind to the claims of Christianity. He began to attend church services and other evangelistic meetings, in the course of which he heard effective messages from Rev. Miyagawa of Osaka, and from Rev. De Forest of Sendai. Deeply moved by their appeal, he sought to study the Bible. He had to overcome repeated temptations to regard it unintelligent and primitive, being full of genealogies and miracles. But when he came to the Sermon on the Mount, his attention was called to a verse, "Blessed are the mourners, for they shall be comforted." This caught his fancy for two reasons: first, he was in adversity and seeking comfort and solace, and secondly, he could not interpret the verse satisfactorily for himself. Then he went to Rev. Yoshikawa for the elucidation of the text, and one of the pastor's explanations was to read it, "Blessed are those who mourn over their shortcomings and weaknesses, for thereby they strive to be more perfect." This exactly is what he wanted. Gradually there dawned in his mind a conviction that his return to the original post as a priest in Hokkaido would only be a repetition of the old way of hypocritical service, and he heard the voice of Christ rebuking the hypocrite. He then committed all to God of

¹²⁶ Bishop Hiraiwa, in the *Christian World*, *Loc. cit.*, p. 4.

¹²⁷ Rev. Imai's pamphlet, "Why I Left Buddhism and Became a Christian," is so full that we thought it best to summarize the main events which led him to accept Christ, rather than to give scattered extracts.

Christ, and after prayer and meditation based on the study of the Scriptures, he decided to abandon Buddhism and become a Christian. Following his decision he experienced for the first time unspeakable peace of mind and finally obeyed the call of God to devote his life to the Christian ministry.

It seems to be true that a serious crisis in personal welfare is a very natural cause of religious awakening. We might relate this with what Starbuck calls "the sense of distress," when the nervous system is in the state of instability. The victim of such circumstances often shows an eagerness to get a hold of something permanent and stable. The actual situation of distress in which the subject is placed vivifies the mental imagery of a contrary nature, and when the object which satisfies such a need is presented, it is jealously and greedily grasped. It is this mental disturbance which causes visions and dreams, and heightens the sense of personal imperfection. The process of acquiring the permanent, or to speak in terms of neurology, the period of recovering from the state of unstability to normal condition, sometimes lasts several years, as in the case of Bishop Hiraiwa above cited. When the reality is seized and the permanent found, then the mental disturbance comes to an end. This same fact is emphasized by Cutten as follows:

"The struggle has continued until the ego seems to be almost rent asunder in some cases; one or the other of the contesting factors must give way, and finally the old self, the lower desire, gives up the battle and sometimes instantaneously, sometimes gradually, the misery, worry and despair are changed to happiness, trust and confidence; the unsettled, divided self, seems stable and united."¹²⁹

Again Coe speaks of the phenomena:

"Competition is going on for the mastery of life. You may call it, in theological terms, a struggle between Satan and the Spirit of God; or you may call it, in biological language, an effort to adjust ourselves to environment against unsocialized remnants of the ape and the tiger nature."¹³⁰

The bitter experience of Uchimura in his conversion from polytheism to Christian monotheism cited in sections 2 and 4, is a striking instance of the divided self as being in the process of gradual unification. This case clearly points out the process of growth from a heterogeneous aggregate of lower habits into a unity of higher habits.¹³⁰ The old habits were not necessarily contradictory and foreign to the new; they were the very material out of which the new were evolved. Physiologi-

¹²⁹ G. B. Cutten: *The Psychological Phenomena of Christianity*, p. 243.

¹³⁰ *The Religion of a Mature Mind*, p. 114.

¹³⁰ Cf. Bryan and Harter: "Studies in the Physiology and Psychology of Telegraphic Language," *Psychol. Rev.*, Vols. IV and VI.

cally speaking, the old habits occupied certain positions in the nervous system, and the new ones came not to destroy all these nervous sets already in existence, but only to fulfill, to unify and relate these diverse nerve paths by forming a new association. There has come a new meaning into the group of old habits, and each of these old ones found its own appropriate function in the light of the larger system. The phraseology of the convert himself in experiencing this state of gaining mental equilibrium is suggestive of this point: "Oh, how proudly I passed by temple after temple, with my head erect and conscience clear, with full confidence that they could punish me no longer for my not saying my prayers to them, for I found the God of gods to back and uphold." The new system of habit mastered the old.

There is another point which seems to be of vast importance in connection with the consideration of religious conversion as a psychological crisis. We have been told recently that the religious attitude is genetically a "construct," determined in large measure by various objective conditions of the life-process. "From such a point of view we shall be led to say that there is no such thing, for instance, as a detached sense of duty, or of sin, which is applied here and there as opportunity may offer or render appropriate, but rather that *these feelings represent certain crises in action*, and that the character of the preceding action has been of direct importance in the determination of the character of the resulting conscious state."¹²¹ We are in possession of some data which go to show that some such explanation of the rise of the religious attitude as given by King is the only legitimate one. The religious instinct, if there is any, is a mere assumption in the immature life, or at least it is a static statement which from a functional point of view is an absurdity. We have had occasions to examine the actual experiences of the Japanese converts, and they seem to indicate unanimously that their definitely religious attitude had arisen when they encountered crises in life, which from the standpoint of functional psychology, represent an act in life and must be interpreted by the subsequent states of consciousness.

The religious attitude, then, seems to be a psychic state which immediately accompanies any grave incident in life. It arises as an attitude of conscious evaluation or interpretation of the life-process which primarily consists of overt acts and practices, at first with no definite significance or value. We are, therefore, to conclude that the religious consciousness is only one of many conscious states that are

¹²¹ Irving King: *The Development of Religion*, 1910, p. 42 (*italics mine*).

built up on the basis of motor adjustments, and in this respect it does not differ from other attitudes. We shall have an opportunity to see later, however, that the religious attitude does differ from other conscious states, not on the basis of its origin and nature of development, but on the basis of its pragmatic content, *i. e.*, on the ground of the function that it serves in life.

6. REBIRTH AS THE POST-CONVERSION EXPERIENCE

In the foregoing section reference has been made to the nature of unification that results from a victory in the mental struggle at a crucial period of religious awakening. We are now to consider the final outcome of conversion which may be called the state of rebirth. It has been customary to differentiate conversion from regeneration, especially in theology. Strictly speaking, these two terms simply indicate two sides of one and the same experience, and therefore their distinction is justifiable only to a limited degree. In fact in many cases, it is quite impossible to distinguish these two aspects of the experience. From a psychological point of view, however, we must prefer the term conversion to regeneration, for it designates more approximately the human side of the seemingly divine experience. Conversion, however even from our point of view, is characterized by a phenomenon known, as "rebirth." We are more or less familiar with remarkable cases of conversion, in which the lives are completely changed, the low desire and affection are raised to a higher level, the appetite for harmful objects is annihilated, the sinner is made a saint,—in fact, the process of sanctification permeates the whole personality of a convert. This is known as the regenerate life or the state of rebirth. A more dramatic catastrophe which is descriptive of such a state is reached by the subject K. Y.:

"I approached the screen door and opened it; it was an evening in spring. The sun was sinking slowly and beautifully colored clouds were floating softly along the western horizon. Silence seized me while I stood alone before the wonderful universe of Jehovah. 'The Great Maker of the Universe,' cried I unconsciously, 'Why hast thou destroyed my father's factory? He is a man of honesty and integrity. Why is it that I was made to lose forever the opportunity to secure a higher education? Why must I live in this dark, hopeless well?' Then I wept to my heart's content. As I wiped the tears from my eyes, the sun had already sunk. A faint streak of crimson tinged the western sky.

"The air was still. I was alone with the universe. I began to think of the Christ of whom I had learned much from the missionaries and the New Testament. I meditated upon his humble birth, upon his common and yet unspotted life, upon his fearless and marvellous ministry, and upon his unselfish sufferings. I lifted up my eyes and looked up to this new Savior. He was not born in the palace of India,

but in the manger of Bethlehem. He did not don the garb of silk, but wore the workman's garment. In place of the golden crown, he was crowned with thorns. Not a bamboo stick did he stretch to save a man, but his own arm. 'Come unto me,' sounded His tender voice within my heart, 'Ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' In Him at last I found true and perfect rest."

In the realm of conduct and habits of life, conversion often changes the course of the pre-conversion stage.

"I came to discontinue my cigarette and drink habits and a great change took place in my general behavior. The objective evidence is the surprise on the part of my non-Christian friends at such a remarkable and complete change."¹²⁸

"The greatest struggle I encountered after my conversion was a moral one. Although I had fought with all my might, victory was not an easy one. But I was conscious of the fact that morally my conduct was greatly improved, and many a friend marvelled at the change. I refused to accept alcoholic drink that even my good father used to offer me. But I finally made him believe that I was right and my friends recognized my uprightness as a young student. I also came to believe that God's hand has guarded me through all my troubles and pleasures of the world, and I firmly believe that He will lead me in the future. In view of the fact that our nation can hardly afford to miss the influence of Christianity for her salvation, I decided to give my life to the task of the ministry." (Subject Y. B.)

"After my conversion, I relied solely upon Christianity as my guide. My irregular conduct became regular." (Subject H. T.)

"With reference to the change of life, I experienced an unspeakable quietude and contentment in my mind, and my world-view was considerably enlarged. This may seem trivial, but it was not so with my own self." (Subject T. U.)

Of all the changes that result from conversion, however, the most characteristic is that of the birth of the larger self, as we noted in the previous sections, which has a soothing and quieting influence upon the convert's mental life.

"After becoming a Christian, there has come, I believe, no change in my life as far as conduct is concerned, but only in my ethical conceptions. Before I became a Christian, my faith was in the self. For every action, the man alone is responsible. It is I that do or undo. I alone can guide myself in my life's journey. I alone can be trusted in all my personal conduct. But I came to see that there are many things which I could not do. Man is weak; by faith, however, he becomes strong. I am not what I will, but I am what God willeth me to be. I pray for his power constantly so that I may become strong and fulfill the divine will. Formerly I believed in the power within and that was my power; now I believe in the power from above which acts on the external world through me. I do not believe God dwells at a certain definite place. Indeed I do not know where He is and I do not care to know in so far as I can feel the divine power everywhere, even in my own heart. It is the divine nature of man that enables me to receive this power which is divine." (Subject K. T.)

¹²⁸ Shunkichi Murakami, in the *Christian World*, No. 1183 (May 3, 1906), p. 4.

"In a word, my confidence, (that is, self-confidence in a more enlightened sense, more in the order of courage), has considerably grown.¹²⁸ This, I believe, is due to the birth of faith in Almighty Providence, that I am now with God. As to the change other than this increase of faith, I feel as if I am greatly relieved of something. I feel easy and comfortable. My conception of the world is broadened. Although this seems a small matter, it is of great significance to my life. My native disposition is subject to a comparatively small change, but the breadth of view which is born in me is to me a great change indeed." (Subject T. U.)

Some converts experience a change in the vocational interest of life, largely in an altruistic direction. The ministry is frequently chosen as a result of conversion.

"About one year after my conversion I began to feel that God wanted me to become a Christian minister, and now I am studying in a theological school in spite of the opposition on the part of my parents and of the sacrifice on my own part. When I was in the high school, I received the news of my father's death, and was asked to return home in order to inherit his properties, but owing to my conviction that I should remain in America to complete my education for the ministry, I declined the offer and appointed my younger brother to the heritage. Since that time, I have studied for seven years, but God has always provided for my needs. After I became a Christian, my sympathy for my fellow men has grown deeper, and I have learned to associate with them in a kindly and loving spirit. I trust all in Christ, and now my life is free from all cares and I am happy at the thought that I can look forward within a year from now for the time to engage myself actively in a spiritual warfare." (Subject T. H.)

"After I graduated from the higher school, I was given a position as a teacher. At that time I met a missionary who endeavored to persuade me to become a Christian minister. I was then placed in a dilemma of the worldly ambitions on the one hand, and of the realization of the suffering, hungering and thirsting millions, and the ministry to them on the other. I was in a state of great perplexity and could not decide easily. But I prayed and finally I gave myself to the cause of service. Realizing the inadequacy of my training, I entered a theological school and began to have charge of a church. I had a severe struggle in that work but I was always happy in spirit. I felt the need of studying the principles and methods of Sunday School work." (Subject. Y. O.)

"After my conversion, I was vexed as to the choice of my vocation. I had once cherished an ambition to become a soldier, but abandoned it and decided to be a Christian minister. Overcoming all the oppositions, I entered the Meiji Gakuin (Presbyterian Mission School in Tokyo)." (Subject Sh. M.)

"After my conversion I was actively engaged, on the one hand, in the work of a church by joining the Young People's Society, and on the other, worked hard to accomplish my long-cherished desire. The result was a nervous breakdown, and I was compelled to live quietly on the seashore. My association with beautiful nature

¹²⁸ Cf. the statement of Renouvier: "Faith is but the self." *Psychologie rationelle*, iii, p. 80. "But it is self in the widest and deepest sense, the self that includes the nation and reaches down to the base and bottom of the moral law. Through a supreme act of will and of self-assertion, man rises to a hope that can create from its own wreck the thing it contemplates." H. S. Nash: "The Nature and Definition of Religion," *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Vol. VI, p. 23.

during this period of retirement, and the mystery of silence profoundly affected not only my health but also caused a great revolution in my spiritual life. I became devoted to altruistic causes. An American lady missionary who guided the steps of my life at this time was a powerful agent in turning my worldly ambition into the noble purpose of giving my life to the work of the ministry." (Subject S. S.)

The post-conversion experience is by no means characterized by uniform peace of mind and happy contentment. Often the battle has to be fought more than once, after the conventional form of conversion occurs. This phase of the experience has caused many writers to note the repetition of conversion. We are in possession of a few cases here:

"After I became a Christian I was conscious of the difference between myself and other non-Christian people, and this consciousness led me to be extremely careful in regard to my daily conduct. I attended regularly all the meetings of the church, and made exhortations and prayed in public. At my first attempt to pray, I did not know how to conclude a prayer but was very earnest. Next I was made a Sunday School teacher and later clerk and treasurer of the church. This was in the childhood days of my spiritual life when the joy of salvation filled my heart. Such a period, however, was comparatively short. With the progress of the time, I came to experience a severe battle between good and evil within my mind that I had never experienced before. I prayed and struggled, but the joys of the former days never returned to me. Then I began to feel that the church was an uncomfortable place where flattering words and formal meetings were cherished. I began to know that missionaries and pastors were not all of noble character, and even the so-called Christians were not any different from non-Christian brethren. The church itself seems to be egoistic in endeavoring to work only for the benefit of its own denomination. These were the factors which caused my disgust for the church, and I became once more a child of darkness. And yet I was conscious of the fact that the church was much better than ordinary institutions and I did not totally desert the church but continued to perform my duties. In this wise, now on the surface and now on the bottom, I was floating and sinking meaninglessly almost along the shores of faith. In the meantime, I was a victim of typhoid fever and for some time unconscious. Everyone thought I would live no longer and everyone kept aloof from me for fear of infection. But one day one of my fellow Christians came to visit me from a distant place. A hearty gratitude filled my heart. After the illness of about four months I fortunately recovered and was able to attend the Christmas celebration. While I was on the sick-bed, I realized that the destiny of man was in the hands of God and we humans could not adequately control it. Thus I concluded to myself that if my life is in His hands, I must commit everything to Him; and if my life is spared now, it must be because my life is of some service to Him. I decided to give the remainder of my life to the work of God in a truly Christian spirit. I had once before been advised by my pastor, but I was unable to decide definitely until this very moment. This one thing was sufficient to shed a flood of light upon my darkened heart." (Subject J. K.)

Even a minister of the Gospel must repeat conversions. Rev. T. Koki says:

"In the evening of March 21, 1884, when I was ministering to the Temma Congregational Church (Osaka), we held an revival service at our church. About that time, my

heart was aglow with worldly ambitions, and I was beginning to think it a height of folly to remain in the ministry. I thought of changing my profession into that of law, and one of my friends was of the same opinion with regard to my choice of future work. But on that evening, one of the believers stood up and testified of his Christian experience, and all those present at the service were moved by a wave of great emotion. One young man, Kususe by name, attempted to fly out of the building because of the emotional upheaval he experienced and dashed into a screen door. I myself was filled with a tremendous sense of sin, and my heart was almost paralyzed and I fell down on the floor. One of the believers approached and urged me to murmur 'Jesus.' I was totally unable to say that word at that moment. I tried hard, however, and at last succeeded in uttering the word, and as soon as that was done, I felt a good deal better. It was in this instance that all my worldly ambitions were driven away and I pledged anew my devotion to the work of the ministry. I myself was astonished at the momentous change that had occurred in my mind."¹²⁴

Subject T. M. has the following post-conversion experience:

"My post-conversion life may be divided into three periods: (1) From 16 to 20 years of age. This period may be called that of religious enthusiasm. Christianity was conceived to be the highest religion of the world, and this conviction urged me to join every Christian movement and strive to tell of this religion to everyone I met. At times I thought that those who did not profess their faith in Christianity were sure to perish. (2) From 20 to 22 years of age. A reaction had set in, and a hostile attitude toward all forms of church work dawned in my mind. I did not attend the church even once. The influence that played upon me at this time was somewhat obscure, but I lost practically all my Christian faith. (3) From 22 to 24 years. This was a critical period. The spirit of criticism was prevailing in the study of the Bible, in my conception of the Christian character, and even in my own personal attitude. The change hereafter is difficult to be predicted, but I hope to grow stronger in faith."

The rise of the altruistic sentiment after the conversion experience is noted in the following case:

"The notable changes that resulted from my conversion are as follows: My irritable nature became exceedingly restful, my sentiment became optimistic and my conscience grew to be very keen. The greatest change, however, was the rise of my altruistic sense. I became desirous of helping, uplifting and comforting my fellow-men. While I was on the Pacific Coast, I assisted in organizing two Japanese churches, assumed the duty of a secretary, and sometimes acted as a pulpit supply in one of the churches. I thought that our work should be first of all for Christ, secondly for the neighbors, and lastly for ourselves. I am especially interested in the work of social service and availed myself of every opportunity to study the reformatories, asylums, hospitals, etc." (Subject K. W.)

The foregoing cases all point to a certain well defined result of conversion, and the various phases of the post-conversion experience may be called the state of rebirth. It must be remembered, however, that the religious development, whether sudden or gradual, can never be a com-

¹²⁴ *Christian World*, No. 1180 (April 12, 1906), p. 8.

plete process in itself. It has individual variations and is always characterized by a capacity for further growth. It must be viewed primarily as a process of development and various degrees of maturity are to be seen among the converts. Starbuck and James have already given us in full the nature of the new life as well as the lines of growth following the conversion phenomenon, and it is not necessary to repeat here the elaboration of these subjects. We have collected and attempted to classify the materials we have in hand in this chapter. The classification, however, can never be complete and absolute, for the religious experience is a psychic complex which defies any attempt of classification. We have only endeavored to group together the cases as they point to the particular phase of the religious consciousness which we studied. The following two chapters are some of the interpretations, as well as the applications of the principles here deduced from our data.

CHAPTER IV

THEORETICAL DEDUCTIONS

1. THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE CHRISTIAN APOLOGETICS

In studying the data which we collected in the previous chapter, there present themselves certain principles which exact our attention and force us to a fuller discussion from the standpoint of theoretical and practical psychology. In the present chapter we shall consider only three of these more important theoretical deductions, and these are: The psychology of the Christian apologetics, the supernatural element in conversion and the psychological criterion of morality and religion.

Christian apologetics is generally divided into five departments for the sake of convenience in the treatment of the subject, one of which is styled "psychological," and its task is defined somewhat inaccurately as "the establishment of the religious nature of man and the validity of his religious sense."¹²⁶ Under the psychological arguments, such topics as the conversion of Paul, the witness of Christian customs and institutions, the success of Christianity, the abiding unity of faith, the psychological nature of religion, etc., are usually discussed.¹²⁶ On a careful examination, however, of the summaries given either by Warfield or by Crafer, we are greatly disappointed with their exceedingly loose estimation of the true significance of the psychological or experiential grounds for belief in the Christian religion. The shortcomings of the so-called "argument from Christian experience," at least as set forth by the writers who rely upon this method, have been pointed out by Coe.¹²⁷ It is not, therefore, our aim now to review in any extensive degree these shortcomings of the apologists. There are some writers, however, who are trained in psychology and their use of the experiential argument assumes some accuracy, and it may not be amiss to quote here the style of argument employed by one of these more skilful authors on Christian evidences.

Ebrard¹²⁸ apprehends more clearly, perhaps, than any other apologetic writer the true import of the psychological point of view, and his presentation and interpretation of the phenomenon of religious struggle

¹²⁶ B. B. Warfield: article "Apologetics" in the *New Schaff-Herzog Rel. Encyc.*, Vol. I, p. 236.

¹²⁶ See the article "Apologetics" by T. W. Crafer, in the *Encyc. of Rel. and Ethics*, Vol. I, pp. 618 ff.

¹²⁷ G. A. Coe: "What does Modern Psychology permit us to believe in respect to Regeneration?" *Am. Journ. of Theology*, Vol. XII, pp. 362 ff.

¹²⁸ J. H. A. Ebrard: *Apologetics; or the Scientific Vindication of Christianity*, (Eng. trans.), Edinburgh, 1886. 3 vols.

and cognition, quite analogous to our pre-conversion experience, is of immense significance from our standpoint. The argument based on the analysis of the religious experience runs as follows:

" Both the premises, which lead to the cognition of God (namely, the knowledge of the external world and the knowledge of self), are in every human consciousness, even in that of the simplest peasant or child, immediately given, and operate directly as an urgent feeling which passes on to the knowledge of God. . . . Every man finds himself as a natural being bound to the body and identifying himself with it, assigned in his bodily life to conditions of life, set into the order of collective nature, begotten in an animal manner, born, breathing, eating, drinking, sleeping; he finds himself in the world as a part of the same. And, nevertheless, every man at the same time knows himself as an ego, which in perception and thought receives into itself this world and its relations, makes it, or a part of the same, the contents of its knowledge, the object of its volition and endeavor, is herein distinguished as a rational being from animals, and with perfect justice regards it as a disgrace and an insult when the name of an irrational animal, as a name of his essence, is attributed to him, the man. The natural man is immediately conscious that he is a being raised above nature. . . . Between both those sides of consciousness an involuntary tension takes place. As long as man has nothing further than both these facts of immediate consciousness, he is a mystery to himself, he feels himself rent asunder, . . . there is an inner contradiction in him; his state of being bound to an animal body contrasts with his egohood, his intellectual constitution; and if, in order to attain to unity with himself, he chooses to think and understand and conduct himself altogether as a mere animal, his egohood, on the contrary, makes energetic opposition, and were this only that pride, which in one breath denies continuance to the individual and praises the 'intellectual progress' of the race. . . . In short: as long as man is dragged hither and thither between both these poles of his being, he is rent asunder and without peace. He does emerge from this inner discord before he composes himself in God."¹²⁹

We admit that the psychology here expounded by Ebrard is an old faculty psychology, quite contrary to the more recent functional point of view. The analysis is only of the religious struggle, which since the time of Paul's skilful description, has ever been the characteristic pre-conversion experience in the more emotional type of religious devotees. But the process by which God is attained is well brought out by the author, and it is quite in accord with the modern interpretation given by the psychologists.

Many of the psychological treatments, however, of the writers on Christian apologetics are chiefly concerned to prove inductively the validity of more important Christian dogmas, together with the general authority of the Christian religion, as they center around the concept of and belief in God. Thus they are interested in proving the super-

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 237 ff.

natural origin of Christianity. In psychology, however, we are not in the position to discuss, offhand at any rate, the nature of the objective reality which is ontologically conceived as the supernatural. We are merely concerned with the objective evidences of the religious experience, and, therefore, a psychological contribution to the evidences of Christianity must be mainly on the basis of such experiential facts.¹⁴⁰ We may ask, then, at the outset, whether it is possible to find any valid psychological or subjective grounds in support of the preference shown to Christianity by the adherents of Japanese religions. We are not here interested in the evidences of Christianity as such, and therefore we do not intend to apply our principles to all the dogmas on the authority of the Christian religion. We are simply to discover the real value of the experiential grounds of the Christian belief, as based on the examination of our data.

In cases where the object of worship in the pre-conversion experience consisted in the nature gods, we found that the sense of adoration is grounded almost exclusively upon the ignorance on the part of the worshippers of the real nature of these gods. Man was, so to speak, in the grip of natural forces, and his recognition of the struggle for existence compelled him to offer prayers, invoking these fearful forces of nature to bestow favors on him, so that he might continue in prosperity and peace of life. It was the feeling of fear, then, which first excited a vague sense of worship and devotion in the mind of primitive people.¹⁴¹ This seems to be precisely the case with the Japanese who have inherited an unreflective type of religious adherence from time immemorial, as so truthfully depicted in the *Kojiki* and other ancient documents. Even today, some children are reared in an atmosphere which fosters the customs of worship directed toward these deities. And thus, as the immediate outcome of the filial duty demanded of every child, this primitive and traditional form of devotion is guarded with unsparing enthusiasm, though sometimes decidedly conducive to undesirable religious revolutions. Modern education too, in conjunction with the rapid influx of Western thought, has awakened the Japanese youths to feel the absurdities in many of these age-long practices, however honorable and dear to their hearts.

¹⁴⁰ The objective realities become psychologically valid, only when they begin to serve a definite function in the mental life of the individual, affording thus a subjective measure of its value. A fuller consideration of this point will be taken up in the following section.

¹⁴¹ This seems to be the conclusion reached by the majority of workers in the social origins (Tiele, Hume, Ribot, Avebury, etc.), though there is a tendency among the more recent writers to discredit the place of fear, which it once held, on the ground that fear is equally present in any other mental attitude. See Leuba, *A Psychological Study of Religion*, pp. 128 ff.

All Japanese parents recognize the importance of Western learning, which is freely taught in all educational institutions, and make special efforts to have their children participate in the boon of intellectual enlightenment. While thus the younger generation is receiving a new education on the intellectual side, their religious practices are still those of olden days. The result is a conflict between the rational and the superstitious elements in their experience. The rational demands of them to find meanings of whatever action they are to perform, while the superstitious forces them to obey blindly the customs and beliefs of the bygone ages, simply on the ground that they have been the customs and beliefs of their much respected ancestors.¹⁴³ The superstitious exists in the diverse forms of practices and observances that are absolutely meaningless to the rationally developed mind. It is comparable to a mass of sensations and of images which are not properly coördinated with reference to each other. A great blooming, buzzing confusion, as James would describe the consciousness of the baby, is the state of mind which often exists in the pre-conversion period. This state of conflict and unrest, of paradox and irrationality, is expressed by Uchimura: "With so many gods to satisfy and appease, I was naturally a fretful, timid child."

The psychological process of the transition from the traditional, meaningless and superstitious polytheism to the unified, rational and intelligent monotheism is undoubtedly a complex phenomenon, involving many forces that are at work in order to bring about the result, as stated by Stratton.¹⁴⁴ The relatively simple and yet comprehensive form of interpretation, however, is that of the phenomenon of "the divided self," of which James makes a full analysis. According to his analysis, though it is largely due to the hereditary traits of discordancy and heterogeneity in the native temperament of the subject, yet it is only a phase in our normal development. He says:

"Now in all of us, however constituted, but to a degree the greater in proportion as we are intense and subject to diversified temptations, and to greatest possible degree, if we are decidedly psychopathic, does the normal evolution of character chiefly consist in the straightening out and unifying of the inner self. The higher and the lower feelings, the useful and the erring impulses, begin by being a comparative chaos within us—they must end by forming a stable system of function in right subordination."¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Here enters the element of ancestor-worship. One Japanese subject remarks: "I do not care anything about the religious practices that I observe with regularity. They are not vital to me in themselves; but they are of my ancestors, and I feel I am duty-bound to continue in them, simply because of my respect towards my forefathers."

¹⁴⁴ G. M. Stratton: *Psychology of the Religious Life*, 1912, pp. 284 i.

The case of Uchimura clearly points out the fact that the Japanese polytheism represents psychologically a chaotic, unreflective and incompletely unified stage in the nation's religious development. When such systems of superstitious beliefs are combined in one's mind with the rational elements, a bitter conflict ensues, but the victory follows always a psychological law of development, and the Christian God which represents an ideal value is destined to win.

When we examine the case of Buddhism, we discover a similar situation, though intellectually it is more advanced. In the teachings of the Gautama, we find no true object of worship, and the entire system remains pantheistic as Arthur Lloyd says:

"Beneath the outward show of theism, every form of Buddhism remains essentially pantheistic, and they who look below the surface will find in all sects (though more in some than in others) the recognition of an underlying Divine thing, identical with the Universe, with the great Mind of the Universe, with five faculties which constitute the mind, and the five elements that go to the composition of the world of matter. For that thing they have two mystic names, the one *Abarakakia*, which may be found in philosophic treatises, in general liturgics, and in hymns, the other (written in Sanscrit) *Kharakosa*, which is inscribed on the wooden post that marks a freshly made Buddhist grave."¹⁴⁶

From such a notion of cosmic belief, the fundamental teaching becomes the annihilation of the self which represents the world of matter and therefore of evil, and the union with the great principle of the universe. The process of attaining this state is by man himself, for Buddha exercised his own self-control and meditation, and finally attained self-emancipation.¹⁴⁶ "The god of Buddhism is the Buddha himself, the deified man, who has become an infinite being by entering Nirvana. To him prayer is addressed, and it is so natural for man to pray, that no theory can prevent him from doing it."¹⁴⁷ Buddha, indeed, is a person who is worthy of our hearty adoration, because of his high religious attainment, but he is only one of many such persons we have in the history of religions. The superstitious belief in his alleged divinity is

¹⁴⁶ W. James: *Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 170.

¹⁴⁶ Arthur Lloyd: "Religion in Japan," *The Times*, Japan Edition, 1910, p. 281.

¹⁴⁶ The account of the process of self-emancipation is given in the following recital of Buddha: "When this knowledge, this insight, had arisen within me, my heart was set free from the intoxication of lusts, set free from the intoxication of becoming, set free from the intoxication of ignorance. In me, thus emancipated, there arose the certainty of that emancipation. And I came to know: 'Rebirth is at an end. The higher life has been fulfilled. What had to be done has been accomplished. After this present life there will be no beyond.' This last insight did I attain to in the last watch of the night. Ignorance was beaten down, insight arose, darkness was destroyed, the light came, in as much as I was there strenuous, aglow, master of myself." T. W. R. Davies: *Early Buddhism*, pp. 35 ff.

¹⁴⁷ J. F. Clarke: *Ten Great Religions: An Essay in Comparative Theology*, 1899, p. 160.

still analogous to the case of traditional polytheism and ancestor-worship of the early Japanese, at least from the point of view of function. The majority of our converts were reared in the Buddhistic atmosphere,¹⁴⁸ and the common experience of them all is the marked formality in the practice of religious ceremonies which had been taught by their parents, devoid of any intelligent understanding of such habits. The fact that the Buddhistic practice of worship is deprived of rational content may be seen from the experience of the converts themselves. One subject says: "When I was in the high school, I studied hard but neglected my ritual devotion to the Buddha, for modern education made me think it foolish to worship an idol." Another says: "My parents and all of my relatives were Buddhists and the type of religious education I received was distinctly Buddhistic. From my early boyhood, I had to kneel down before the Buddhist shrine, and read the scriptures; but these practices were all without any meaning on my part." Still another thinks: "My parents' conception of the deities was exceedingly vague and indefinite, and I did not understand them well."

These formal precepts and practices, however, must some day find their meaning. There is often a voluntary attempt to search for an interpretation of their practices in the realm of intellect which is usually regarded as the ultimate tribunal of all moral and religious sanctions. In this search they meet the religious influence of the Western learning. The form of testimony is usually as follows: "When I was sent to the home of a foreigner for study, I came in touch with Christianity for the first time." It is clear that it is a happy coincidence that Christianity is introduced to the Japanese young men when they are seeking a rational interpretation of life. And herein lay the reason, conscious or unconscious on the part of the missionaries, why they opened English Bible classes for the young intellectual aspirants. The thirst after knowledge arises in the mind of the native youth about the time when pubescence passes away and adolescence dawns with all its characteristics of physiological and psychological needs. At this crisis, the juvenile mind is searching truth and, tired of all the formalities and superstitious practices involved in his early training, is yearning for something real, something which has some emotional response to his yearning. The mind seems to be exceedingly sensitive to the living examples of the religious devotees who can show the true effect of their religious faith in actual dealings with fellow-beings. The desire for the

¹⁴⁸ According to the recent statistics, there are in Japan today 140, 208 Christians, 766, 683 Shintoists, and 28,510,382 Buddhists.

real, the living and the ideal is so intense sometimes that when they meet with an object which fulfills such qualifications, the religious crisis in their experience ensues: "I cried out to Buddha for sympathy. The Great Light of Asia was standing beside me, but my path was still dim. . . . I began to think of Christ of whom I had learned from the missionary and from the New Testament. I meditated upon His humble birth, upon His common and yet spotless life, upon His fearless and marvellous ministry, and upon His unselfish sufferings. I lifted my eyes and looked up to this new Savior."

The desire to seek the ideal and the real, and to struggle away from the formal is the psychological basis for Christian apologetics over against the Buddhistic teachings. The Buddha furnishes only the development of intellectual power in more educated minds, and in the uneducated, only the blind obedience to the practices and habits of religious devotion. It fails in many cases to give an idealized person, which is the very core of the highest form of religious experience. Christianity comes to a Buddhist with a God who is all-mighty, all-wise, all-loving and in every way a perfect and ideal personality which commands the devotion and worship of the most highly developed mind. It is this personal object of worship which Christianity presents that appeals to the mature mind.

When we come to consider the Confucian teachings in relation to the Christian religion, the situation is still more evident, and confirms what has just been emphasized with reference to Buddhism. Confucianism may be recognized as the most satisfactory religion of the Japanese from the standpoint of Christianity, for it taught many individual and social virtues that are essential to the religion of Jesus Christ. It has, therefore, served more significantly than any other ethnic religion the function of a propædæutic for the coming of Christianity. It is not, of course, our aim here to enumerate all the points of contact between the Christian ethics and the Confucian morality, for they resemble each other in ways more numerous than can be recounted. It suffices only to point out the essential difference, psychologically considered, between these two religions. The fundamental point of emphasis in Confucianism is the moral culture by self-examination and meditation. The standard is man himself, and not God. Thus it corresponds to what we would call morality which usually signifies the perfect relation between human individuals, rather than religion. Time comes, however, in the mind of the adolescent Japanese, when man as such becomes no longer a sufficient standard of life's ideal. Just as in the case of the Buddhist

adherent who found it necessary to interpret the practices which had been superstitiously observed prior to the dawn of intellectual aspiration, so the Confucian teachings call for idealistic correlates, *i. e.*, the human virtues must be translated into divine terminologies, in order to derive true comfort on the part of those who have developed such virtues. When this time comes, the mind cries for the Infinite, although not always positively and actively. The mind is especially sensitive during this period, and any expression of sympathy, enthusiasm, or devotion makes a deep impression. And we have seen, it is due to this sensitiveness to the emotional reaction that many of our converts have found the Christian God. The relation of Confucianism to Christianity is well expressed by J. F. Clarke:

"Jesus says to the Chinese philosopher, as he said to the Jewish law, 'I have come not to destroy, but to fulfill.' He fulfills the Confucian reverence for the past by adding hope for the future; he fulfills its stability by progress, its faith in man with faith in God, its interest in this world with the expectation of another, its sense of time with that of eternity. Confucius aims at peace, order, outward prosperity, virtue and good morals. All this belongs also to Christianity, but Christianity adds a moral enthusiasm, a faith in the spiritual world, a hope of immortal life, a sense of the Fatherly presence of God."¹⁴⁹

The remark of the President of the Chinese Republic to John R. Mott is very significant in this connection, namely, "while Confucius teaches us the truth, you have been giving us a message which tells about the power to follow the truth."¹⁵⁰

We are, then, in the position to appreciate the psychological grounds of the faith in the superiority of the Christian religion over against the ethnic religions of Japan. The Christian religion is superior, *i. e.*, more highly developed, because it appeals to the process of idealization which represents the highest stage in the genetics of the social consciousness, and which lends meaning and produces unification of the conceptual machinery built up by the social medium. Idealization as we have repeatedly seen, involves an object, imagined or real, which possesses the elements demanded of an idealized object, and Christianity succeeds in giving such an object in its concept of God. It is not necessary, then, to argue the superiority of Christianity over other religions because of its supernatural revelation; our psychological analysis has convinced

¹⁴⁹ *Ten Great Religions*, p. 59.

¹⁵⁰ *Students and the World-Wide Expansion of Christianity* (Report of Kansas City Convention, 1914), New York, pp. 971.

us that the subjective, experiential grounds are, in fact, much more scientific than the supernatural.¹⁵¹

Here also we see the force of the argument, often encountered in the philosophy of religion, that man is naturally religious and this alone is sometimes thought to be sufficient to argue for the necessity of religion.¹⁵² We are, however, not satisfied merely to know that man is naturally religious, and often "incurably religious," but we must be convinced that we, as developing organisms, long continually for the highest type of religious development. From a purely psychological point of view, any person who is seeking the world of the Unseen, who is performing social and religious obligations, who is true to himself, is a religious person. Yet our standpoint is more evangelical and humane than merely psychological. We need to see a person longing for the ideal reality, but at the same time we must make sure that that ideal reality he is seeking is of the highest type which truly corresponds to the psychologically most developed object. We see that the converts have abandoned their ethnic faiths, not because their religions are false, but because Christianity affords them a more perfect type of ideal personality which meets their spiritual longing.

2. THE SUPERNATURAL ELEMENT IN CONVERSION

In the foregoing section we insisted that the supernatural element in conversion or any other religious experience is not a psychological necessity in maintaining the proposition that Christianity is the most highly developed of all other religions, and yet we also emphasized the fact that our analysis convinces us as to the validity of the concept of God, the highest type of the ideal object in the social consciousness. We are now to take up this problem of the supernatural element in conversion in its psychological setting. The recent method of applying a psychological point of view in interpreting the religious phenomena has caused many so-called orthodox thinkers and defenders of the Christian religion to fear whether the introduction of such a standpoint would make their religion a godless faith. The fear which is thus engendered is often so serious for some writers that their defensive attitude

¹⁵¹ W. Robertson Smith says: "A religion which has endured every possible trial, which has outlived every vicissitude of human fortunes, and which has never failed to reassert its power unbroken in the collapse of old environments, . . . declares itself by irresistible evidence to be a thing of reality and power. If the religion of Israel and of Christ answers these tests, the miraculous circumstances of its promulgation need not be regarded as the inseparable accompaniments of a revelation which has the historical stamp of reality." *The Prophets of Israel*, p. 10, quoted by I King, *Op. cit.*, p. 352.

¹⁵² Cf. S. S. Colvin: "The Psychological Necessity of Religion." *Am. Journ. of Psychol.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 80-87

assumes a polemic character. With us, however, it is of little significance, since our chief concern has been with reference to the psychology of the religious consciousness as such, as our delimited field, and therefore the introduction of such an ontological category as God into our discussion is only a useless complication of our problem.¹⁴³

The fear here referred to, however, is not entirely without any significance for a religious psychologist, for the supernatural reality or God, whatever be its content to the person experiencing it, has a definite function to serve in human life. We neither deny nor as yet accept *in toto* any such metaphysical concept. The objective reality becomes psychologically relevant as soon as it begins to have a functional relationship with the individual. We are not in sympathy with the view as formulated by some writers that "if modern psychology eliminates the supernatural from regeneration, she denies Christianity; for according to Christianity's authoritative expounder, the Christian religion can begin only with regeneration, and regeneration, to be regeneration must be supernatural."¹⁴⁴ Modern psychology is seemingly indifferent to the supernatural, because it as such does not properly belong to its field; but this is far from saying that it eliminates the supernatural from any religious attitude. Moreover, our notion of the supernatural is now so advanced that we need not to entertain it simply because of its novelty or miraculousness; the supernatural can legitimately remain so if the grandeur of the natural order of things becomes so impressive as to excite in the individual the sense of appreciation, and we shall see that the concept of the supernatural is nothing but the product of this valuational attitude, functioning as a moral and religious stimulus. Thus we are led to regard the supernatural, not as something altogether foreign to our subjects, but as a natural paraphernalia to the mature consciousness. How does such a concept arise in the individual and what is

¹⁴³ In the so-called new theology, the distinction between the natural and the supernatural is beginning to disappear. See the article "The Old Theology and the New," by W. A. Brown, *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Vol. IV, pp. 14 ff.

¹⁴⁴ W. B. Greene: "Has the Psychology of Religion Desupernaturalized Regeneration?" *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Vol. LKVII, p. 203. In contrast to the statement of this dogmatist, compare the conclusion reached by the psychologist: "What, then, does psychology permit us to believe in respect to regeneration? First, it permits us to believe anything whatever as to the character of God; anything whatever as to the significance of the life and death of Jesus for the consciousness of God; anything whatever as to the state of helplessness that man would be in if God's disposition toward him were different from what it is; anything whatever as to the ultimate source of human goodness. It permits any hypothesis as to the power of Jesus to transform a human soul, and the only function of psychology with respect to such hypothesis is to see that the facts of mind involved are correctly described and related to one another and to their contemporary and historical conditions." G. A. Coe, *Am. Journ. of Theol.*, Vol. XII, pp. 366 ff.

its validity in the human experience, are the problems to which we must now turn.

To the mind of the theological onlooker, the conception of the supernatural grows not from the gradual development of the religious experience, but more probably from its sudden and abrupt change, often witnessed in emotional converts. The notion of the miraculous or rather the unnatural was, then, the direct progenitor of the idea of the supernatural. This vague notion of wonder thus aroused marks the primitivity of all religious behaviors. In the case of the old Yamato religion of Japan, it was this notion which gave birth to polytheistic beliefs. "In the Kojiki, the oldest of the Japanese sacred writings, 'a Kami or deity is anything wonderful, god or man, rock, stream, or snake, whatever is surprising or sensational.' There were no sharp dividing lines between men and gods. The Kamis were distinguished by such qualities as strength, or brute force, not moral traits."¹⁵⁵ To an unreflective type of mind, a wonderful or surprising phenomenon arouses a sense of mystery and this sense is personified as a projection of his own being. Thus the deities come to be created, in one sense at least, out of that mental context. The discernment of the supernatural in the emotional subjects is also a creation grounded upon the recognition of the wonderful and the unnatural.

But upon a more careful examination, we shall discover that the cases of so-called sudden religious conversion possess no really unnatural character. In none of the subjects we have collected we can trace an unnatural sequence of experiences. What seems to be thought unnatural in a sudden religious awakening is only an illusion due to the unreflective attitude of the casual observer. When we come to exercise our close scrutiny over the experiences of our converts, we find a marked community of mentality in the pre- and post-conversion life. The case of K. Uchimura makes this point clear. With reference to his religious life before he became a Christian, he relates as follows:

"I early learned to honor my nation above all others, and to worship my nation's gods and no others. I thought I could not be forced even by death itself to avow my allegiance to any other god than my country's. I should be a traitor to my country, and an apostate from my national faith by accepting a faith which is exotic in its origin. . . . One afternoon I resorted to a heathen temple in the vicinity, said to have been *authorized by the Government* to be the guardian-god of the district. At some distance from the sacred mirror which represented the invisible presence of the deity, I prostrated myself upon coarse dried grass, and there burst into a prayer as sincere and genuine as any I have ever offered to my Christian God since then.

¹⁵⁵ Irving King: *The Development of Religion*, p. 241, footnote.

I besought that guardian-god to speedily extinguish the new enthusiasm in my college, and punish those who obstinately refused to disown the strange god, and to help me in my humble endeavor in the patriotic cause I was upholding then."¹⁵⁶

The man who has had faith in his native guardian-god, when once he becomes a Christian, carries over the same degree of faith and enthusiasm into the newly accepted religion. He now proves to be an ardent upholder and preacher of Christianity. His aggressiveness is seen in the conversion of his father occasioned by his untiring enthusiasm, and the subsequent conversion of all the rest of his family and relatives.¹⁵⁷ In such a case as this, we see a natural sequence of the states of consciousness at the successive stages of development. The common element exists in both before and after conversion, namely, the same degree of loyalty and devotion exercised toward what the subject considers to be the object worthy of his worship and trust. The only distinctive element in the post-conversion experience is the acquisition of the Christian God who is far superior to the guardian-god of the district. This change from the old to the new object of worship represents psychologically a transition from one level of mentality to another, and the sequence follows the law of mental growth. The newly acquired object of faith is thus a product of psychical evolution, determined to a large extent by the social forces that are at work on the convert.

From such a point of view, it may seem that we are altogether dismissing the supernatural element or God from our religious experience. But this is far from being the case. In fact, no psychology of religion can be complete without at least attempting to explain the origin and function of the supernatural in religion. Some critics of the psychology of religion have advanced a charge that the newly formulated science has left out its God in an eager search for the concrete in human experience.¹⁵⁸ While this is true in some cases, the charge as directed toward the science of religious psychology as a whole cannot be fair, for we may find some day, when a vast amount of reliable data shall have been accumulated, that the supernatural is a legitimate category in our science, as Pratt rightly says:

" while every reference to anything 'supernatural' is barred out from psychology as a natural science, it might conceivably be found that the facts as collected and described could best be explained and accounted for on some hypothesis

¹⁵⁶ K. Uchimura: *How I Became a Christian*, pp. 111. The new enthusiasm here alluded to is the revival movement of Christianity which caught the upper class by storm.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 57-59.

¹⁵⁸ G. B. Foster: "Concerning the Truths of Religious Ideas," *Bib. World*, Vol. XLI, p. 651. The criticism as applied to Leuba's position is undoubtedly correct.

other than the somewhat naïve naturalism adopted by the majority of scientists. It might, for example, turn out that the data in hand point toward some such hypothesis as that of Professor James—a 'wider self' or psychic 'beyond,' in touch with the sub-conscious portion of our lives. If further investigation continued to point more and more in this direction, and new evidence for the existence of such a 'beyond' were forthcoming, new facts which seemed best explicable on such a supposition, this hypothesis would have to be regarded as a perfectly scientific one, and the 'beyond' would not be something supernatural but just one of the regular facts of nature, like the Western hemisphere or the process of digestion or the state of hypnosis."¹³⁹

Any student of religious experience will not deny that the core of religion is always the Supreme Being in whom "we live, move and have our being." In popular parlance, we may call it God, or the supernatural or any other appropriate name we may choose, but in psychology, we are loathe to call it the *supernatural*, for such a term is a linguistic paradox which at once defies all scientific treatment.¹⁴⁰ From our point of view, we merely analyse the religious experience and attempt to interpret it in terms of the laws already established as natural. Therefore, if we have any experience indicating the existence of such a reality, we at once begin to explain the fact by considering its origin, nature and function. As we examined the religious experience of the group of Japanese Christians, we discovered just such an objective existence and noted that it begins to function when the developing youth reaches the stage of idealization, whether occasioned by a psychological crisis or built up gradually by a slow intellectual and social process. It exists only when it becomes a satisfactory explanation of, or a means of giving meaning to, the facts of human life. The immature mind with a vast amount of heterogeneous bits of experiences is constantly struggling to find an adequate source of conceptual enlightenment, and this struggle causes him to interpret life in one way or the other, endeavoring to attain the most consistent meaning to his experience. The discovery of an objective existence in his thought world answers just such a craving of the youthful mind, and as soon as this state is attained, he surrenders his life, because of the imperiousness of this existence. This vision of an objective reality dawns upon the growing mind only as a construct or attitude which has a long natural history of its own. It does

¹³⁹ J. B. Pratt: "The Psychology of Religion," *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Vol. I, pp. 145 f.

¹⁴⁰ Irving King says: "In the science of religion, therefore, we do not need to discuss the question as to whether there may be a connection between the natural and the supernatural. There may be a connection, but the categories of experience are not capable of describing it. The scientific examination of religion cannot, of course, deny the reality of the supernatural element in the various contents and processes of the religious consciousness. It simply holds that the relation of one to the other is such as cannot be described in phenomenal terms." *The Development of Religion*, p. 12.

not come as a disconnected image of the ideal, but as the natural consummation of the individual's development.

Such an ontogenetic view of the origin of the concept of the divine or the supernatural affords much illumination as to the function it performs in life. We have had occasions to note that the religious attitude usually arises as a means of overcoming the various ills of life. To put this fact in the terminology of Christ himself, religions arise as a means of attaining a fuller and richer development of life itself, as he says: "I came that they may have life and may have it abundantly." The concept of God is built up in a way analogous to the rise of the religious attitude, for it is the very nucleus of religion itself, around which centers all practices and beliefs.

The function of the divine is to furnish an emotional as well as conceptual outlet in the moment of severe tension generally experienced at the time of a critical situation in life. It has been advocated, with much psychological significance, that fear is the direct progenitor of the notion of the supernatural, especially in primitive life. Faith in the supernatural gives comfort and assurance on the emotional side and meaning and reason on the conceptual side. It is the outcome of an evaluating process of any given act, at first devoid of any such signification, but the mental effect of such an act, especially when it is of a critical nature, tends to arouse a tendency to interpret the act. Therefore, when such an evaluating process comes to a successful close, the supernatural is thought to be functioning in the life of the experiencing subject as a soothing, relieving and benevolent reality. Such an attitude is the distinguishing mark of religiosity.

Whether the notion of the supernatural is real or merely imagined, its validity is psychologically unaltered, for the effect that it produces in the life of the individual is practically the same. James makes, this point clear, when he says: "All our attitudes, moral, practical, or emotional, as well as religious, are due to the 'object' of our consciousness the things which we believe to exist, whether really or ideally, along with ourselves. Such objects may be present to our senses, or they may be present only to our thought. In either case they elicit from us a *reaction*; and the reaction due to things of thought is notoriously in many cases as strong as that due to sensible presence. It may be even stronger."¹⁶¹

As to the reality of the object of worship we need not enter into a minute discussion, for no less eminent a psychologist than James has

¹⁶¹ *Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 53.

given us a complete treatment of the subject, and whatever we have to say would only amount to an inadequate reproduction of the psychological account set forth by him.¹⁶² We close this section by simply stating a defence of the concept of the supernatural as a legitimate category of the psychology of religion. Psychology, as we conceive it, neither denies nor yet blindly accepts the notion of the divine or the supernatural; it simply endeavors to explain that notion in terms of its own categories. The fact that it avoids the use of such terms as the supernatural and the divine is by no means indicative of its insistence either on their spuriousness or irrelevancy. Wherever psychology speaks of the appreciative, evaluative and idealizing process, it has the supernatural and the divine in those phases of the social consciousness; and whenever it elaborates on the function of the ideal in human life, it recognizes the validity of God.¹⁶³ Such being our contention, we are not to eliminate the supernatural element from the phenomenon of conversion, and yet we are to do all we can to find a natural cause that can be stated and explained in experiential and subjective terms, for only by so doing can we hope to advance the true spirit of the psychology of religion as a branch of natural science.

3. A PSYCHOLOGICAL CRITERION OF MORALITY AND RELIGION

The problem of this section seems at first irrelevant, for we all agree that in practical life at least, morality and religion are so blended that any theoretical distinction between them appears almost an impossibility. In a closer psychological scrutiny, however, these two apparently identical states of consciousness do not represent the same phenomena. The fact that these two are so organically co-active has led many a psychologist of religious experience into unnecessary misunderstanding,¹⁶⁴ due primarily to the failure to follow out the order of development in the indi-

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, Lecture III.

¹⁶³ Here the entire gamut of the literature on the psychology of mysticism falls in line. One of the latest works on the subject has the following statement relative to the workings of the subconscious: ". . . . subconsciousness cannot be left to its own resources; it seems rather an instrument in the hands of a superior power, God. As psychologists, our conclusions cannot affirm God; but we have not the right to exclude Him, in fact psychology seems to point to Him." Jule Pacheu: *L'Expérience mystique et l'Activité Subconsciente*. 1911, reviewed by H. Delacroix, *Psychol. Bull.*, Vol. IX, pp. 470ff.

¹⁶⁴ Compare the statement of this situation by Leuba: "The extent of the literature on the relation of morality to religion is amazing. Almost every conceivable kind of relation has been attributed to them. It has been maintained, for instance, that morality has no existence outside of religion; that it is one of the fruits of religion; that purified religion is morality; and that no connection whatever exists between morality and religion. But if one accepts the conception of religion offered in this book, the relation to religion of ethical appreciation and needs does not present a particular problem." *A Psychological Study of Religion*, 1912, p. 195.

vidual. We shall endeavor to analyse in this section the ontogenetic relationship existing between morality and religion.

The conclusions of recent studies in child psychology seem to favor the view that the child is not, strictly speaking, a religious being.¹⁶⁶ Like all other mental attainments, religious consciousness must come as the result of a long social process. Up to the dawn of puberty, at any rate, the child's primary business is, as Dewey has said long ago, to grow, to develop, and to become a man. He is not even a man; he is only a candidate for such a title.¹⁶⁸ It is true that there are some hereditary traits which tend to lead some observers to the view that the child has a religious instinct and at an early stage its manifestation is discernible.¹⁶⁷ The modern view, however, accepts a strictly evolutionary standpoint, and makes little of the hereditary potentialities of this or that mental trait, but rather believes in the overt character of all organic behaviors. All mental capacities, be they religious or moral, are but the outcome of the consciousness following such acts. Therefore, the child cannot so readily attain the moral or religious consciousness, if the social environment is devoid of these mental states which have a long developmental history. The native endowments are serviceable only when they receive proper forms of stimulus to call them out into full functions, and this very process of furnishing a right kind of environment to the growing child is the psychological justification of all educative endeavors. The organic endowments are by no means permanent; they die out if no appropriate stimulus is given at a suitable period, and this is just the reason why some unfavorably situated children grow to be socially abnormal. It has been discovered that criminals and subnormals are created largely by the unfavorable environment in which they were reared, and the charitable, corrective, penal, judicial, and other benevolent institutions for this class of children are only endeavoring to restore to them proper surroundings in order to overcome their developmental defects.

Such an intelligent understanding of the causative factors in child development is directly due to the result of modern investigations in social psychology in its broad aspect. Social psychology teaches us

¹⁶⁶ See E. S. Ames: *The Psychology of Religious Experience*, p. 209. Also the article by E. D. Starbuck: "The Child-Mind and Child-Religion," *Bib. World*, XXXI, (1908), p. 101.

¹⁶⁷ This is, of course, true of the adult form also. Compare the discussion given by G. B. Foster: *The Function of Religion in Man's Struggle for Existence*, p. 43.

¹⁶⁸ For example, H. R. Marshall: *Instinct and Reason*, pp. 223 f., footnote. The so-called Child-Study Movement has led many investigators to adopt this view.

that the child's development is essentially a social process. Baldwin has stated this conception in a most suggestive form when he says:

"The 'ego' and the 'alter' are thus born together. Both are crude and unreflective, largely organic. And the two get purified and clarified together by this two-fold reaction between project and subject, and between subject and eject. My sense of myself grows by imitation of you, and my sense of yourself grows in terms of my sense of yourself. But *ego* and *alter* are thus essentially social; each is a *socius* and each is an imitative creation."¹⁶⁸

Such an ontogenetic account of child development is now suggestively carried over into the realm of the study of religious experience. Recently there have appeared a number of treatises on the psychology of religion, which apply the social criterion to the development of the religious consciousness.¹⁶⁹ This standpoint has, undoubtedly, shed a flood of light upon the genetic nature of religion, and proved its unusual productivity as a standpoint; but it too has fallen into a pitfall always created by the wholesale adoption of a new method in any science. The method enabled the science to attain a remarkable development, but the hilarious emotion generated by such a success sadly blinded the eyes of the investigators so as to cause a failure to discriminate the objects so tenaciously awaiting a still further analysis. One glaring example is found in Ames' elaboration of the relation between morality and religion from the standpoint of social development in which the psychological distinction is reduced to its minimum. He says:

" The term moral has been used to designate those ideals which pertain particularly to human social welfare, in distinction from the claims of religion which seeks authority and action for conduct in the will of a deity. The contrast between moral and religious conduct belongs to that conception of the world which makes a rigid distinction between the natural and supernatural, between the human and divine. But if religion is identified with the most intimate and vital phases of the social consciousness, then the distinction between morality and religion is not real."¹⁷⁰

A similar position is expressed by the author in connection with non-religious persons:

"With psychologists there is more of a tendency to the view that man possesses no special instinct or endowment which makes him religious. . . . If religion

¹⁶⁸ J. M. Baldwin: *Mental Development in the Child and the Race* (1st ed.), 1894, p. 335. This view is elaborated in his later work, *Social and Ethical Interpretations*, 1897.

¹⁶⁹ E. g., Irving King: "The Differentiation of the Religious Consciousness," *Psychol. Rev. Monog. Supple.*, Vol. V, No. 4, and *The Development of Religion*, 1909; E. S. Ames: *The Psychology of Religious Experience*, 1910; J. H. Leuba: *A Psychological Study of Religion*, 1912; H. M. Stanley: "On the Psychology of Religion," *Psychol. Rev.*, Vol. V, pp. 254-278.

¹⁷⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 285. The statement of Starbuck quoted by the author in support of this point disproves rather than proves the author's contention. Starbuck simply says that moral conduct is the core of religion, and that it becomes or develops into a religion, as may be seen in the phrase: ". . . . it was this moral life which afterwards constituted the substance of religion." P. 288, (italics mine).

is viewed as participation in the ideal value of the social consciousness, then those who do not share in this social consciousness are non-religious. The psychological criterion of a man's religion is the degree and range of his social consciousness."¹⁷¹ This statement is no doubt applicable to religion, but it is too general and indefinite to be a psychological criterion of religion, for it may be applied with equal fitness to all other forms of consciousness.¹⁷² Consciousness, to whichever variety it belongs, to be consciousness at all, must needs be social both in origin and in nature. To say, therefore, that the test of religion is the degree and range of one's social consciousness, is to define religion only in terms of its genus; it needs to be further differentiated by its species. Religion, to be sure, involves the totality of psychical life, but in a psychological discussion where we aim at theoretical accuracy our terminologies must be free from every element of generality.

The adoption of the social conception of religious development, then, in the realm of religious psychology, first clearly accentuated perhaps by Durkheim, is indeed an ingenious project, and certainly illuminating in many of the intricate aspects of religious experience. It opened up almost a new field in the study of the phylogeny of religious superstitions, rituals, beliefs and ideas; it added a new method in the analysis of the personal experiences of religious devotees and made it possible to formulate a social principle of individual attainment; it even raised the science of religious psychology itself to the standard of scientific precision; and it will prove to be the most fruitful method yet discovered by the investigators in this field.¹⁷³ Admitting the feasibility of these points, the result reached by such a book as that from which we have quoted only raises a very obstinate question as to the strictly psychological distinction between morality and religion. Both morality and religion can legitimately be regarded as the products of social development, but there is a marked difference between them if we endeavor to dissect them more critically with the scalpel of social psychology.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 335 ff.

¹⁷² This, however, is more in line with popular usage, for in common parlance, religion is a very broad term, comprising all the way from simple superstitions to highly abstracted philosophies of life. The criterion suggested here applies more fittingly to morality, for, as McDougall defines, morality is "the performance of social duty, the duty prescribed by society, as opposed to the mere following of the promptings of egoistic impulses." *Introduction to Social Psychology*, p. 313.

¹⁷³ This standpoint has been mildly criticised by Stratton: "The reverence which men have shown the Highest has usually been, not alone because it fulfilled their social needs, but also because of its satisfaction to sensuous and æsthetic and causal and logical needs, which grow, it is true, by the mutual friction and support of men, but seem not to originate in this way nor to be part and parcel of the social feeling itself." *Psychology of the Religious Life*, p. 337.

In what Baldwin calls the "Dialectic of Personal Growth," he points out very instructively the three stages in the development of self and social consciousness.¹⁷⁴ In working through such a scheme as this, however, we are struck with its apparent shortcoming, namely, his failure to account adequately for the genesis and development of the religious sentiment which he discusses at length. His genetic account of the religious sentiment is in the main a psychological truism, expressed in very enlightening language, and we shall see later that our analysis also will lead to a somewhat similar conclusion. In the analysis of the religious consciousness, his "Dialectic of Personal Growth" does not take into account all the elements mentioned by the author. We refer to his statement. ". . . as the ethical sense now grows up, the growing sense of personality becomes the theatre of new and still more profound mysteries to the child. He now gets within himself the new thought of personality called the *ideal* which demands recognition over and above the rival selves which have hitherto played back and forth in his mind."¹⁷⁵ In order to explain the genesis of this *ideal*, he is forced to make use of his notion of "projection" which he designated as the first stage in development, comprising anything uncertain, any group of experiences unstable in its prophetic and historical meaning.¹⁷⁶ It may be possible to see the rise of an ideal in the stage of projection, but it is not adequate to cover a real ideal, if the term is taken to mean only what his definition calls for. We feel that one other still higher step should be added, namely, what, from the lack of a more appropriate word and following his Latin derivatives, we may style "superjective" stage. It is certainly mysterious to find Baldwin bringing what he calls the first stage to account for the ideal engendered in the religious sentiment. We must have a little more adequate terminology to explain the very highest form of human consciousness.¹⁷⁷ After ejection has fully come to function, the mind, by means of cognitive development in the forms of imagination, association, ideation and what not, reaches still further, finding in the realm of the Unseen the existence of an ideal being. This ideal need not necessarily be a reality present to the senses, nor even a supernatural being in its ontological sense. The feeling of this reality may arouse the sense of dependence and that of reverence,

¹⁷⁴ J. M. Baldwin: *Mental Development in the Child and the Race*, (1st ed.), p.335.

¹⁷⁵ *Social and Ethical Interpretations*, p. 362.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁷⁷ The word "projection" is strengthened by Baldwin by supplementing it with such terms as "ethical," "mysterious," "intellectual," etc. It is hard to see, however, how the profound mystery can beget the ideal being.

but these are not always the requirements of the religious consciousness. The very act of grasping such a reality,—not necessarily its objective manifestations,—is indicative of one's religious development, for the possibility of reaching that stage assumes the social development which underlies it.

Frequently this grasping of the ideal personality is a sudden event, although genetically viewed, it requires a long and patient struggle for its complete attainment. Our cases of religious development have given us some proofs for this statement. The training that the native religions give the Japanese people is more or less representative of the three stages of Baldwin's dialectic. The old Yamato religion with Shintoism as its later development corresponds to the "projective" stage, where the sense of mystery, the feeling of adoration, and the impression of the fearful deities characterize the primitivity of social development. Buddhism, as a step in advance, marks the rise of intellectual powers, while Confucianism rapidly rises to the ethical standard, where perfection of manhood in its social relationships becomes the ideal to be attained. All these so-called religions are preparatory to the real religion which presents the true ideal of social development,¹⁷⁸ and we have clearly seen, at least in the experiences of our converts, that such an ideal is found in the Christian God as described and interpreted by Jesus of Nazareth. Therefore, when the Christian religion is presented to the Japanese who are already mature in their social consciousness and are trained in religious aspiration, it takes often little effort to make the God of Christianity perfectly intelligible and to convince them of His superiority over the gods of other religions.

The realization of this religious ideal, therefore, is not the wilful anticipation, nor yet the premeditated imagination that can be experienced voluntarily. There seems to come at the apex of the developing social consciousness a moment when a new vision bursts forth, which is the vision of "things which eyes saw not, and ear heard not and which entered not into the heart of man."¹⁷⁹ It is the vision of spiritual ideal which blooms into richness of meaning and reality, and imperiously commands reverence and respect,—a sense of appreciation of this vision of the invisible reality. It cannot be experienced unless there is a sufficient degree of social maturity to warrant such a process of valua-

¹⁷⁸ We do not say these religions are pseudo-religions; they are true religions psychologically, as long as they exhibit a conduct which involves and is conditioned by the sense of deity. See Baldwin, *Op. cit.*, p. 366.

¹⁷⁹ I Cor. 2:9.

tion.¹⁸⁰ The very young child may sometimes manifest the traits of moral consciousness in his behavior, although such manifestations may not be an exact index of the consciousness (they are often the results of organic adjustment), but he can never be religious because of the evolutionary limitations set by the immaturity of his mental life. The appreciation of the godlike character must be the result of the thorough understanding of human character. This is the reason why the so-called idea of God often entertained by children, or the interpretation of deity held by primitive people, is always characterized by a gross anthropomorphism.¹⁸¹ This is exactly the argument in favor of the order of development here advocated, namely, "from morality to religion." In other words, God is what he is because man is first what he is. Even in the civilized community, we have persons who are thoroughly moral, but who are not religious.¹⁸² Man becomes truly religious only after he is truly moral, for religion, according to our analysis, represents a higher phase of the superjective stage as compared with morality, and therefore must follow rather than precede the moral consciousness, merely as a matter of genetic necessity.¹⁸³ The writer of the first Epistle of John had made this psychological distinction clear when he said, "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar; for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, cannot love God whom he hath not seen."¹⁸⁴ The vision of God, then, may be regarded as the consummate flower of the social con-

¹⁸⁰ The statement by Höffding is in point here: "Values must be discovered and produced in a world of experience before they can be conceived or assumed to exist in a higher world. The other world must always be derived from this world; it can never be a primary concept. . . . The content of religion always points back to life in the world of experience, and without a knowledge of this, life would be incomprehensible. Discussion is always led back by implacable logic to the conceptual priority of ethics over religion." *The Philosophy of Religion*, p. 330.

¹⁸¹ It is not our contention here that the young child can never idealize. In fact, some children are highly idealistic and the younger children are merely imaginative while the older ones exercise freely the sense of hero-worship, as has been observed by Cooley (*Human Nature and the Social Order*). Stratton says: "The cravings and appreciations by which the image of the Perfect receives forms, include sensuous pleasure and the love of action, together with the curiosity for causes, the need of logical sufficiency, the delight in beauty, the sense of the importance of the family, of larger human unions and the lordship and magistracy which accompany these, and finally of the golden gifts of friendship." *Op cit.*, p. 332.

¹⁸² This is where we differ from Ames' criterion of the religious person, quoted at the outset of this section.

¹⁸³ We, therefore, cannot totally agree with Calkins' attitude as expressed in her words: "Any consciousness relation to God, however low and lifeless, however destitute of moral responsibility, is religion It follows, of course, that a bad man may be religious. . . . " *A First Book in Psychology*, Rev. Ed., 1911, p. 268.

¹⁸⁴ I John 4:20.

sciousness—the highest stage in the socialization of the individual.¹⁸⁸

From the foregoing discussion it seems now clear that both moral and religious consciousness may be viewed as belonging to the idealistic or superjective stage of ontogenetic development, and yet a psychological distinction is a necessity as a matter of theoretical accuracy. To state in terms of a complete social process what has already been said, such a distinction between the two phases of valuational or appreciative consciousness lies in the fact that the moral psychosis is a form of the social consciousness as it relates and functions itself towards one's fellow beings, while the religious psychosis is that which reaches out into a still higher, more perfect and more truly ideal Being, which though not an unnaturally experientiable objective reality, can yet become a spiritual companion and a stimulating object of worship and submission. It is thus the difference in the *object* of the social consciousness which differentiates the religious from the moral. In the one, it is the really socialized person, while in the other it is the ideally socialized person.

¹⁸⁸ It is interesting to note in this connection the psychological significance of the following poem entitled "God," written by a young and comparatively unknown Japanese poet, Soma Gyofu:

"God? Can I paint that which I cannot see
Nor comprehend,—the vaguely Infinite,
Beyond all human ken, or word, or thought?
Yet from the known we figure the unknown,
And shadow forth the shadowless; and thus,
God is the heart that loves,—the lover's heart,
That looks and yearns for sweet return of love;
The husband's heart, that makes companionship
With her whose hand he holds and calls his own;
The father's heart, that careth for his son,
Watching his growth with fond paternal pride.
And lovers, parting, oftentimes interchange
Twin trinkets, tokens of a common love,
And each one, gazing on the thing he wears,
'My love,' says he, 'beyond the cold gray sea,
Wears the twin fellow of this ring I wear,
And, gazing, thinks of me as I of her:
By this I know our absent love holds good.'
Such is the thing that men have christened Faith."

Translated into English by Arthur Lloyd, and published in the *Open Court*, Feb., 1913, p. 122.

CHAPTER V

PRACTICAL DEDUCTIONS

1. A PROBLEM IN CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

Of all the departments of what is generally known as Practical Theology, the subjects which concern us most are the problems of missionary method and preparation and of religious education. When we glance at the vast amount of literature on Christian missions, we discover various standpoints and methods of approach that are often radically divergent. Some regard the missionary enterprise as more or less of a revolutionary affair, starting with a hostile attitude towards everything pertaining to the heathen nations and with only one simple goal in view, namely, of establishing a particular type of Christianity which the missionary happens to cherish. This must have been the case when a writer on foreign missions expressed his attitude in the following words:

"Out of vanity, ignorance, and despair of the human mind in its proud and helpless struggle after some satisfying solution of the problems of life and destiny, have come those great ethnic religions which, by virtue of the distorted and mutilated fragments of truth which they contain, as well as their concession to weakness and sin, have held sway for long centuries over so many millions of our human race. . . . They are the corruptions and perversions of a primitive, monotheistic faith which was directly taught by God to the early progenitors of the race. They are not even after the pattern of things in the heavens, much less the heavenly things themselves. They are rather gross caricatures and fragmentary semblances of the true religion, which have departed so far from the original model as to be in many essential things positive contradictions and reversals of the truth."¹⁸⁶

The believers in ethnic religions would undoubtedly be provoked and feel greatly insulted at reading such words of hostility and ridicule, and doubt at once if such a writer is a typical Christian. Another example of the same point of view, only in more stylish and oratorical language, is the following extract from a speech by Sir Monier Williams, Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford:

"These non-Christian Bibles are all developments in the wrong direction. They all begin with some flashes of light, and end in utter darkness. Pile them, if you will, on the left hand of your study table, but place your own Holy Bible on the right side—all by itself—and with a wide gap between. . . . I contend that the two unparalleled declarations quoted by me from our Holy Bible make a gulf between it and the so-called sacred books of the East which severs the one from the other utterly, hopelessly, and forever; not a mere rift which may be easily closed up; not

¹⁸⁶ J. S. Dennis: *Foreign Missions after a Century*, 1903, pp. 249-251. Cf. also his statement in the *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, 1897, Vol. II, p. 5.

a mere rift across which the Christian and non-Christian may shake hands and interchange similar ideas in regard to essential truths, but a veritable gulf which cannot be bridged over by any science of religious thought; yes, a bridgeless chasm which no theory of evolution can ever span. Go forth, then, ye missionaries, in your Master's name; go forth into all the world, and after studying all its false religions and philosophies, go forth and fearlessly proclaim to suffering humanity the plain, the unchangeable, the eternal facts of the Gospel. . . . Be fair, be charitable, be Christian, but let there be no mistake; let it be made absolutely clear that Christianity cannot, must not, be watered down to suit the palate of either Hindu, Parsee, Confucianist, Buddhist, or Mohammedan, and that whoever wishes to pass from the false religion to the true can never hope to do so by the rickety planks of compromise,¹⁸⁷

It would be almost an endless task to quote all the references to such an obsolete point of view, for we are likely to find such a statement almost anywhere in the books on Christian missions. But there are increasingly others who take a more modern and scientific standpoint, as may be exemplified in the words of a recent writer:

"As was natural, many mistakes in the nature of the preaching were made at first. Even when the difficulties, in many cases almost insuperable, of the language were overcome, the missionary would be sometimes inclined to give the Gospel message with little knowledge or sympathetic understanding of the religious ideas of his hearers, and in most cases he imposed upon them not only the Christian teachings, but the theology and the ecclesiastical ideas which had grown up in Europe to meet the needs of European thought and conditions. Experience, the study of non-Christian religions, the deeper understanding of missionary problems, has led by degrees to more enlightened methods. . . . At the same time it is recognized that amongst almost every people there exists some preparation for the Gospel—that is everywhere the spiritual needs of the human soul that have produced the religions of the East and of the Animist peoples, and that the task of the missionary is to show how the teaching that he brings corresponds to those needs, and includes in itself what is true and permanent in the religious ideas which he finds amongst his hearers."¹⁸⁸

Such a more enlightened view, however, is by no means new to our age. Jesus himself was an appreciative student of Judaism, and consequently his method was to go first to the Jewish teachings and his conclusion was, "I came not to destroy but to fulfill." There are a number of writers who follow the footsteps of Jesus in missionary methods, and they signal the hope of the future.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Quoted by E. A. Lawrence: *Modern Missions in the East; Their Methods, Successes, and Limitations*, 1901, pp. 159 f.

¹⁸⁸ Louise Creighton: *Missions; Their Rise and Development*, 1912, (Home University Series, No. 55), pp. 89 f.

¹⁸⁹ It is beyond our power here to quote extensively from these writers. The most prominent of these have been summarized by R. E. Speer: *Christianity and the Nations*, 1910, pp. 239 ff., also by F. L. Lombard: in *Am. Journ. of Rel. Psychol. and Educ.*, Vol. I, pp. 115 ff.

Amid such a confusion of opinions as to the fundamental attitude of missionary authors, it is but natural to find the practitioners of Christian missions utterly indifferent to the problem of method. They have relied, almost excessively, upon their own personal inclinations in this matter. But a brighter day is dawning. Their sole conviction that the faith in God was all-sufficient is now being supplemented by another conclusion that the knowledge of the mission field and the scientific approach in method are absolutely necessary. This is especially true in the case of the work in Japan, for, as has been noted, the apperceptive mass of the people is unusually complex and heterogeneous. The religion of Jesus must be given to the people not as a disconnected slice of experience but as something which naturally orients itself in the mental constitution. The mind of the Japanese cannot be made a *tabula rasa*, after having built for itself a world of meaning and having inherited a civilization of its own from time immemorial. A successful missionary offers Christianity to the people in a way that admits an easy and natural entrance into the world of concepts already in existence.¹⁹⁰ The fact that some of the earlier Christian workers in Japan have failed to understand this point of view is undoubtedly responsible for the slow progress of Christianity in Japan, as compared with the advance of other phases of Western thought. Recently this aspect of the problem has received psychological consideration in the hands of a missionary in Japan, and he says, in one of his conclusions, that "the duty of a religious teacher is (1) to discover and sympathetically appreciate the experience of religion already possessed; (2) to develop that experience along lines native to it; (3) to supplement such by added elements, made conformable; (4) to expect and welcome a new growth, characteristic of the people."¹⁹¹ Such a study by Lombard is an important and helpful attempt for any missionary to undertake. Our present study has endeavored to discover a ground upon which an adequate missionary training can base its principles and methods, and it remains for us now to turn our attention to this aspect of the subject.

It has been lately contended that in Japan the missionary issue is no longer between Christianity and the native religions, but between

¹⁹⁰ A mental disturbance has occurred in some instances as a result of coming in touch with Christianity, as Clement says: "We are thus able to comprehend clearly the kind of mental pabulum, intellectual nourishment that the Japanese mind received, particularly during the period of seclusion and crystallization and we need not be surprised that, when Christian doctrines were offered as food, a sort of mental nausea was produced." *Christianity in Modern Japan*, p. 159.

¹⁹¹ F. L. Lombard: "Notes upon a Study in the Pedagogy of Missions," *Am. Journ. of Rel. Psychol., and Educ.*, Vol. I, pp. 113-128.

Christianity and nothing.¹⁵² This nothing, however, must be interpreted to mean not so much the total absence of any belief or idea, for the educated Japanese have often so many ideas and beliefs that their attitude towards Christianity is characterized by hostility, indifference or prejudice.¹⁵³ It is rather to be understood in the sense of being in the state of religious instability. Missionaries will err greatly if they regard the so-called atheists and agnostics as having nothing in the way of religious and moral ideas, for the psychology of the situation implies a real longing and readiness to accept whatever faith truly satisfies their spiritual needs, presented, however, in the moral and religious vocabulary of their own.¹⁵⁴ To a careful student of the ethnic religions and of the moral needs of Japan, the field seems to be a comparatively fruitful one for missionary enterprise.¹⁵⁶ Undoubtedly there are apparently many ideas in Japan that are directly antagonistic to the teachings of Christianity, and yet these very ideas indicate a certain level of con-

¹⁵² This "is the inference that must be drawn from the figures of a religious census recently taken in the Imperial University of Tokyo. It classifies more than 4,000 students by religions as follows: Shinto 8, Buddhist 50, Christians 60, atheist 1,500 and agnostic 3,000. It appears from this that the educated classes of Japan have practically broken with the old beliefs and are searching for some better basis for ethics and faith." *Bib. World*, Vol. XLI, (1913), pp. 128. The figures have been revised more recently. See an address by the writer "Japanese Students and Christianity," in the report of the Kansas City Convention, 1914, *Students and the World-Wide Expansion of Christianity*, p. 53.

¹⁵³ Cf. E. W. Clement: *Christianity in Modern Japan*, p. 162.

¹⁵⁴ Count Okuma says: "The nation may, perhaps, be characterized, in a word, as guileless or as spiritually clean. It can be well understood that the contact of a national mind so attuned, with the Occident's civilization, acted like the introduction of a beautiful pigment into clear water contained in a crystalline vessel, the brilliant color instantly suffusing the entire volume of water." *Fifty Years of New Japan*, Vol. I, p. 10. One of the native Christian teachers makes the following exegesis on some Scriptural passage: "The life of Christ is an example of the victory of *giri* (sense of duty) over *seijō* (natural feeling). The temptations of Satan were all directed toward the natural feeling of Christ as a man; but Christ, discerning clearly what duty demanded, overcame them. Again, when Christ prayed, 'O my father, if it be possible let this cup pass from me,' he gave expression to his natural feelings; but when he added, 'Nevertheless not as I will but as thou wilt,' he conquered them by his sense of duty. This is an explanation, which, I think, is readily understood by the Japanese." Rev. T. Harada, quoted by W. E. Griffis: *Dus Christus*, p. 191.

¹⁵⁶ The Bishop of Exeter has the following testimony: "If you had been asked to sketch an ideal land, most suitable for Christian Missions, and when itself Christianized more suited for evangelistic work among the nations of the Far East, what, I ask, would be the special characteristics of the land and people that you would have desired? Perhaps, first, as Englishmen or Irishmen, you would have said, 'Give us islands, inseparably and forever united, give us islands which can hold their sea-girt independence, and yet near enough to the mainland to exert influence there.' Such is Japan—the land of the Rising Sun. 'Give us a hardy race, not untrained in war by land and sea; for a nation of soldiers, when won for Christ, fights best under the banner of the Cross—for we are of the Church militant here on earth; give us brave men'; and such are the descendants of the old Daimios and two-sworded Samurai of Japan. . . . 'But,' you would also have said, 'give us a race whose women are homespun and refined, courteous and winsome, not tottering on tortured feet, nor immured in zenanas and harems, but who freely mingle in social life, and adorn all they touch,' and such, without controversy, are the women of Japan. Above all, 'give us a reverent and a religious people, who yet are conscious that the religion of their fathers is unsatisfying and unreal, and who are therefore ready to welcome the Christ of God,' and such are the thoughtful races of Japan." Quoted by W. E. Griffis: *Op. cit.*, pp. 187 l.

sciousness and to a missionary of insight they are the stepping-stones to higher development rather than a total hindrance to such a growth. The psychological study of the religious experience of a group of arbitrarily selected Japanese converts has enabled us to find at least a partial explanation of this comparative productivity as a mission field in the fact that they had been reared in the atmosphere of ethnic religions with their characteristic forms of civilization, though sometimes unaccented and often ill-defined. We can not go into the details of the specific points of contact between the religions of Japan and that of Jesus Christ; such a study has already been attempted by abler hands. The one fundamental point which is here repeatedly emphasized as a conclusion of our study is that there can be no impassable chasm between the ethnic religions of Japan and the Christian religion, and that the method of missionary procedure must be derived from this essential principle.¹⁹⁶

With this fundamental principle in mind, our next query is with reference to the essential subjects of study which ought to enter into the curriculum of missionary training. The World Missionary Conference of 1910 which met at Edinburgh gave a prolonged consideration to this matter.¹⁹⁷ A special Commission on this subject generalized the courses of study under five headings, based upon the questionnaire returns from the missionaries actually in the field: (1) The science and history of missions, (2) The study of the religions of the world, (3) The study of sociology, (4) Pedagogy and (5) The study of languages. While this generalization was the composite opinion of the missionaries who probably have not had such a system of training themselves, the general conclusion of the Commission after actually studying the present situation in missionary training was expressed in some such phrase as this: ". . . . candidates for ordained work in the foreign field receive very little special instruction in missionary subjects in the course of their theological curriculum, whether that curriculum is long or short."¹⁹⁸ As an attempt to overcome this defect, the Board of

¹⁹⁶ G. Stanley Hall has a remarkable passage on this point: "If Christianity is ultimate and is fit to be a universal religion, it must be shown to be related to Buddhism, Brahmanism, Confucianism, and other and perhaps all indigenous religions somewhat as it is to Judaism. It must be shown to be prefigured, anticipated in each, and each must be shown to be fulfilled in it in analogous ways. Those who proclaim it must be as sympathetic and as instructed in the letter and spirit of the native faith as Jesus was in that of Hebraism, and have served an apprenticeship like his to it." *Adolescence*, Vol. II, pp. 745f. For the expression of the same fact on the part of the Japanese Christians, see the case of K. Yamamoto as reported by DeForest: *Sunrise in the Sunrise Kingdom*, (rev. ed.), p. 171; also D. Ebina: "The Evangelization of Japan," *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Vol. II, p. 197.

¹⁹⁷ *World Missionary Conference*, Vol. V.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

Missionary Preparation was appointed by the Federation of Mission Boards, immediately after the Edinburgh Conference. This Board has a special Commission on Japan, which, according to the report of the Board, is preparing a special report on the training needed for missionaries appointed to Japan. On examining the tentative statements of this Commission, we are struck by their unusual insight into the conditions of Japan as a missionary field. It is neither our purpose here to review nor our desire to criticise the report in question. While in some minor matters, criticisms are inevitable, on the whole the vision of the Commission is commendable. This, we must remember, however, is only a vision and not yet a reality.

It is not the purpose of the present thesis to elaborate in detail the various materials which ought to constitute the curriculum of an ideal missionary training school, for such a task is attempted by the Board of Missionary Preparation above referred to. Here we are to give three outstanding aspects which ought to guide the formulation of a missionary training curriculum. (1) The first is what we may call *emotional* preparation. It consists essentially in the true appreciation of Christianity in its practical life and in the genuine enthusiasm for evangelization. These two aspects of the emotional preparation are fundamental and primary. This means that a mere intellectual training cannot give such an emotional content to the religious life of a missionary. He must experience that life himself in order to show others what it is. In this respect, James' theory of emotion does not hold good, for a physical and outward representation of Christianity will not produce a genuine Christian experience. It ought to come from other sources. (2) But the sole emphasis upon this aspect has misled many an able missionary, for it caused them to neglect the second important item which may be called *intellectual* preparation. Under this group come such subjects as comparative religion, history and science of missions, the study of the Bible, sociology of the mission field, etc. But in studying all these important subjects, a missionary ought to have a psychological viewpoint. The common defect of the missionary training curricula is that they are too mechanical and merely descriptive. The mere knowledge of disconnected items of ethnic experience will not remain very long in the brain of a missionary, but if he acquires such a knowledge with a psychological interpretation, that will function dynamically in the conduct of his work. In other words, what needs to be emphasized in missionary training is an intelligent correlation of the subjects of study,

and this can best be accomplished by basing the interpretation upon the principles of modern functional psychology. (3) This leads to the third aspect, namely, *volitional* preparation. Here comes the question of method, whether evangelistic or educational. The study of the principles of religious education and the modern methods of evangelism are in point. Very few missionaries are prepared in this aspect, and the result is that their good will and enthusiasm are wasted. Very frequently the lack of preparation causes disturbance in social relations between the missionary and the natives. The fact that many Japanese Christians are bitterly against foreign missionaries is directly traceable to the defect here referred to. Again, it is interesting to note that the Christian church where missionary supremacy is upheld is almost always weak and inefficient, whereas the church controlled and managed by the Japanese themselves is usually strong and efficient. All these facts go to prove that missionaries are really ignorant of their place in the evangelization of Japan, but the more intelligent way of interpretation is that they lack this fundamental training in method of evangelism and education. It is usually contended that here comes in the question of tact but tact as such never exists. It is neither an inspiration nor a genius; it is a volitional construct, based on the sound knowledge of the problem and an intelligent reaction to the situation. Proper training will produce such a quality.

The above consideration of the general deficiency in missionary training leads us to the very important problem of the standard of missionary selection. Many Japanese natives discover some missionaries to be disagreeable and ill-fitted for the field. These missionaries may do better in some other fields. The fault lies in this case in the Mission Board and not in the individual missionaries. It frequently happens that the Board appoints a missionary contrary to the wish of the candidate, with the result that his work becomes comparatively inefficient. The appointment of a missionary by the Board then is a more complicated problem than is usually conceived. Again the matter of test or examination has to be reconsidered by the Board. The usual requisites of training, Christian character, personal interview, etc., ought to be supplemented by all means by a social test. This will necessitate for all missionaries some time spent in the home field before going to the foreign land, for this will give a chance to test them with reference to general efficiency. The alleged fear on the part of some Boards that if such a test is practised, the candidates would be lured to remain

here and lose sight of the foreign work, is more a petty sentiment than a sound reason. The matter of age does not cut a great figure. The general problem of selection then will require an expert scrutiny both of the outgoing missionaries and the missionaries who are already in the field. It will be necessary in some cases to recall those missionaries who are obsolete.

The above suggestions as to the psychological qualification of a missionary and the problem of missionary selection are based on personal observation in the light of the investigation of the present thesis. The general emphasis of this entire section has been to point out the need of the presence of missionaries in Japan, and to plead for a more thorough and appropriate preparation as well as for the proper selection of the prospective missionaries. The present thesis does not undertake to discuss these matters in detail, but merely suggests the fundamental psychological point of view.¹⁹⁹ It remains for the Board of Missionary Preparation to elaborate their details.

2. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF THE JAPANESE

The intellectual correlate of evangelism is the educational endeavor. Religious education arose as a counterpart of the revivalistic procedure, because of its more permanent and normal effect upon the religious development of the converts. Its fundamental assumption is that the individual should be encouraged to build up the religious consciousness by means of ideational and cognitive processes and pursue a gradual course of maturity rather than to experience an abrupt change of interests and ends in the emotional life. The present investigation has amply demonstrated the truth that educational influence has played a great part in converting our subjects. The rarer cases of sudden conversion among the Japanese who have been educated in the morals and religious principles of the ethnic religions mean not an unnatural turning of direction in the life process, but rather an experience which adds richness of meaning to the social consciousness that had already been built. Suddenness in such cases, therefore, has a different content than is usually understood. This being the conclusion, what can this contribute to the religious education of the Japanese?

Religious education, whether in Japan or elsewhere, is a much simpler problem than evangelism, for its point of departure is the child who is

¹⁹⁹ Since writing this section, two interesting studies have been published, viz., J. H. Stontemeyer: "Religion and Race-Education," *Journ. of Rel. Psychol.*, Vol. VII, pp. 273-324; McLeod Harvey: "The Pedagogy of Missions," *Ibid.*, pp. 345-399. James L. Barton's article entitled "The Modern Missionary," *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 1-17, signals the future attitude and policy of the Mission Boards.

more or less free from the racial habits which often stand in the way of Christian development, and this fact reduces the apperceptive mass to its minimum complexity. Although there may be some racial traits in the Japanese children, yet the social environment can easily counteract the transient ethnic instincts. It is undoubtedly impossible to transform the social environment completely. The introduction of the Christian religion has already wrought a remarkable change in Japanese society, and the aim of religious education is to reorganize the environmental forces so as to favor the development of Christian personality. Any such attempt, however, to mould and reconstruct a nation's social order must be intelligently guided by rational principles based on the nature of educational influences already in existence.

Of all the educational agencies which contribute to the moral and religious education of the Japanese, the most important one is the home. As soon as the little child can talk, he is trained in various manners and etiquettes which build the foundation of character. The psychology of the teaching of manners and etiquettes is that it illustrates the social nature of development in general. The child is taught in this way the lesson of obedience in its naïve form by following the customs of the home and of society, by making the child sensitive to the opinion of others, and by introducing the peculiar social situation in which alone etiquette and manners take meaning. It, therefore, forms the very foundation of social and moral development.

Another important element in home education is found in the lullabies and folk-tales that are given to the child from early infancy. The quaint and yet exquisitely charming lullabies that are chanted to lull the little one to sleep afford a significant material for social development. The rich and fascinating fairy tales are also powerful in bringing home to the child a sense of respect, adoration and other humane virtues, and the child usually takes a deep interest in listening to these stories as they are told by his parents or grandparents.²⁰⁰ The majority of these tales are merely fictitious and contain no definitely moral or religious sentiments, but their highly imaginative character engenders a sense of appreciation of the heroic qualities of the component personnæ. Some, however, are designed to emphasize specific religious habits and practices of olden days and their effect upon the religious development

²⁰⁰ The most popular of these tales is that of "Little Peachling," the full account of which is found in Baron Kikuchi: *Japanese Education*, pp. 383 f.

of the child is often remarkable.²⁰¹ One of our subjects, K. Y., remembered the Buddhist allegory that had formed a part of his tale-education.²⁰²

As to the more expressly religious education of the Japanese child in the home it may be said that a practice called "Miya-mairi," or visit to the temple, ushers in the whole curriculum which is to follow. It roughly corresponds to Western christening. It occurs on the thirty-first day after the birth in the case of a boy, and on the thirty-third day in the case of a girl. It consists in taking the child to the temple and in placing it under the guardianship of a special deity selected by the parents. The frequent religious festivities too cannot fail to contribute something at least toward the religious growth of the child. Almost every community has its own representative shrines, temples or other, sacred places, and these usually form spacious playgrounds for the children of the common people, where various forms of festive performance take place. These festivities are of nation-wide interest and especially are they alluring to young children. The psychological significance of these religious festivities is not difficult to see. They do not appeal to the child as religiously important incidents, but as an act in which the entire community participates. These are the occasions when every child in the community joins in the processions and other forms of social activities that constitute the essential counterparts of these festivities. Here also must be included all sorts of games that are indulged in by Japanese children. These are important not as religious practices as such but as social activities that are decidedly educative.

Still another element in home education is the training of the young in the habit of respecting and obeying the elders and the superiors. This is the psychological background of ancestor-worship and the loyalty to the Emperor. While some of the habits are often grotesque from a rational point of view, the spirit that is fostered by such acts of reverence is an important asset for the social development of the child. They are relevant as a means of cultivating a truly social person.²⁰³

As to the moral instruction in schools, which every Japanese child must go through, it is impossible as well as irrelevant here to go into a full

²⁰¹ See e. g., M. F. Nixon-Roulet: *Japanese Folk Stories and Fairy Tales*, 1908; K. Iwaya: *Fairy Tales*; A. B. Mitford: *Tales of Old Japan*, 1876; G. James: *Green Willow, and Other Japanese Fairy Tales*, 1912; F. H. Davis: *Myths and Legends of Japan*, 1912; W. E. Griffis: *The Mikado's Empire*, Vol. II, Ch. XIII.

²⁰² See *supra* p. 25.

²⁰³ On the subject of home education, all standard works on Japan and education may be referred to.

discussion.²⁰⁴ As an elaborate system of moral education, it has no parallel anywhere. Recently, however, the entire system is being subjected to a severe scrutiny from a Christian point of view. According to the report of Galen M. Fisher, the students whom he had interviewed with regard to the effect of school instruction in morals, agreed without exception that the "textbooks are lacking in interest and in power to prick the conscience and the imagination. Their verdict regarding their teachers is almost as unfavorable."²⁰⁵ But it is gratifying to note at least an endeavor on the part of the more successful teachers of morals to appeal to the sense of hero-worship of the first and second year pupils.²⁰⁶ Now and then, attempts are also being made in some of the government schools to introduce the teaching of morals from a Christian point of view. The formal teaching of religion as such in the public schools of Japan is strictly prohibited. It is true that there are chairs in the history of religions in the universities, but the courses are chiefly historical and comparative. By some seriously minded teachers of religion, this condition is felt to be a sad defect, and at least an attempt was made by a teacher to find relief for this shortcoming. Concerning this, Thwing says:

"The author of it is Professor Tanamoto, professor of pedagogy in the University of Kyoto. Professor Tanamoto's method includes these elements: observation of and communication with nature, reading of the holy scriptures as found in many literatures, including of course the New Testament, the telling of stories regarding religious duty and devotion, and prayer. In these elements and exercises, he believes, all children and their teachers of whatever denominational faith, can unite. Prayer would be an act, or mood, or petition, addressed to the Being whom the petitioner regards as Supreme."²⁰⁷

The attempt, however, is not a successful one, for as Thwing rightly comments, "it lacks the inspiration of personality and the force of definite conception of truth."

In view of this situation, we must turn naturally to the more consciously directed efforts in religious education. At present, religious

²⁰⁴ See Baron Kikuchi: *Op. cit.*, Chs. XI and XVI. Cf. also G. Spiller: *Report on Moral Instruction and on Moral Training in Eighteen Countries*, London, 1909, pp. 267 ff.

²⁰⁵ "Notes on Moral and Religious Influence Surrounding Younger Students in Japan," *Christian Movement in Japan*, VII (1909), p. 64. The more enlightened educators are beginning to realize the futility of merely passive moral education, and a scheme is devised to awaken the moral consciousness of the pupils by using the biographies of some famous men. Cf. K. Yoshida: "Notes on Methods of Moral Instruction in Japan," in *Moral Instruction and Training in Schools*, edited by M. E. Sadler, 1908, Vol. II, pp. 346 f.

²⁰⁶ This is done by Professor Shinji Sasakura of Sendai. The characters used for the textbook are all Japanese heroes, each of whom represents a type of character to be emphasized and learned. See article by G. M. Fisher, *Loc. cit.*, pp. 63, 65.

²⁰⁷ C. F. Thwing: *Education in the Far East*, p. 98.

education in Japan is openly carried out at least in three forms of institutions: the kindergarten, largely established and maintained by various Mission Boards, the Sunday School and the so-called mission school. Both Protestant and Catholic Missions are conducting these institutions, and the last statistics²⁰⁸ showed the total number of all these schools but the Sunday School, to be 244, with an enrollment of perhaps more than 22,500 students of both sexes. In all Protestant churches, there are over 1,500 Sunday Schools and 100,000 scholars in all.²⁰⁹ The figure is very small when we compare it with the enrollment in non-Christian schools where no religious instruction is given. The one great defect of the Christian schools is that they have not succeeded in securing well trained teachers in religious education. The shortcoming of the Sunday School in this matter is perhaps greater, for here in this institution we have a mass of volunteer teachers who are well meaning but poorly qualified to undertake the important task of imparting the knowledge of Christianity to Japanese children.²¹⁰ But the leaders who are engaged directly in the religious education of the Japanese have now awakened to the consciousness that definite steps towards the scientific solution of the problem must be taken in order to cope with the increasing demand of the idea of efficiency. The concrete manifestation of this consciousness is found in the organization of the National Sunday School Association of Japan on January 5, 1907, as the result of the visit to Japan of Mr. Frank L. Brown and of the generous help of Mr. H. J. Heinz. Following the organization of the Association, various phases of its activities were actually demonstrated, the more important of which were the work of the Sunday School Institute and that of the Sunday School exhibits. The Lesson Committee has planned for the three series of lessons which came into effect after July 1, 1907,²¹¹ a teachers' magazine and a series of practical leaflets are being published

²⁰⁸ *Christian Movement in Japan*, 1913, pp. 718 ff.

²⁰⁹ *World-Wide Sunday School Work*, Report of the World's Seventh Sunday School Convention, 1913, p. 239.

²¹⁰ The defect of the Sunday School education is now being pointed out by the educational experts, perhaps more vigorously than ever before. As to such important problems as the selection and training of teachers, practice in teaching methods, the relation of the Sunday School to the public school, the study of child psychology, school hygiene, etc., no systematic endeavor has been made to place religious education on a firm scientific basis. These problems become all the more important in view of the increasing number of young children in recent years. It is reported that at a city Sunday School convention held in Tokyo, over 10,000 children had gathered for class instruction,—a fact absolutely unprecedented either in the Sunday School or the public school history. See the editorial in a Japanese religious monthly, *Shin-Jin*, edited by Rev. D. Ebina, Feb., 1913, pp. 4 f.

²¹¹ They have since prepared and published the graded lessons for eleven years of study. Rev. H. Kosaki, president of the National Association, pleads for graded lessons very strongly for good reason. See his statements in *World-Wide Sunday School Work* above referred to, pp. 239 and 584.

and a score of useful books of reference are now being translated. The Educational Committee is arranging a training course for Sunday School teachers; a number of workers' circulating libraries and a variety of modern pedagogical methods are in operation.²²²

The work of the kindergartens is very hopeful. It is in this field that all educational endeavors find their common meeting place and their common point of departure. The scientific attitude is shown in the establishment of some important training schools for teachers. "The organization of the Kindergarten Union of Japan in 1906 has brought forty-three Christian kindergartens in closer touch with each other for mutual help, inspiration and the extension of the work." A prominent kindergarten worker says:

"The Japanese have several societies for their kindergartens, which are most enthusiastically supported, also several magazines devoted to the cause. The professors have lately given themselves to the study of stories for children; kindergarten material is manufactured in Japan; and while all this is not yet beyond the pale of criticism, still it is safe to say that the children's hour is striking."²²³

Certainly a good beginning in religious education has been made, and in process of time, we can expect that those who are directly connected with the task of Christian education in Japan may bring forth results of their investigations guided by practical experience and scientific principle and produce an efficient system of religious education for the Japanese.

In concluding this section, we may well inquire, "What does our study contribute to the principles of religious education?" One pre-eminent result is that the materials found in the ethnic religions and morality have a peculiarly significant element for Christian religious education. The examination of our converts has convinced us that the religious training during early infancy given by the parents was the most powerful agency in calling out the child's religious response. The school education in morals seems to have little, if any, influence in awakening the moral consciousness of the child. Both the home and the school, however, are important in the social development of the young. They both have to deal with the universe of relations, which includes the relation between the elder and the younger, the relation between the members and the family, and the relation between various individuals. The home and the school, then, must be utilized in religious education for

²²² For a fuller account of the work of the National Sunday School Association of Japan, consult *The Sunday Schools the World Around*, 1907, pp. 275 ff.

²²³ Annie L. Howe, in *The Christian Movement in Japan*, 1908, p. 296.

this very purpose. But the content of the ethnic training in religion and morals is often desirable as a material even directly for Christian education. We have seen clearly that the process of idealization which is the basis of religious experience is possible only to those who are mentally mature, and the immature child is not able to participate in any sense in this finer and more subtle psychosis. If this is correct to any extent, we should encourage the child to be reared in a moral atmosphere which is capable of provoking the social reactions from him. In order to create such an atmosphere, the elements that compose it must be easily suited to the experience of the child, otherwise the alleged excellence of materials and methods would only be useless. Our contention here, then, is that such materials which are suited to the child's religious and moral capacity are found in the ethnic religions and morality and these must be made use of before the Christian training proper may be introduced. The more highly developed concept of God, for example, of Christianity is rather a poor lesson to be given to the average Japanese child. It ought to be preceded by more appropriate and racial concepts which can prepare for higher concepts, for premature introduction of religious materials would hinder rather than aid the religious development of the Japanese child. The ethnic religions of Japan are rich enough for the child, and they can be given with advantage, supplemented, however, and interpreted by the Christian point of view.

It is beyond our purpose to give the numerous ways in which our general principle may be applied. We have merely emphasized the relative importance of the ethnic religions as the proper materials for religious training of young children who are mentally incapable of appreciating the ideal personality which is given by Christianity. In the case of the Japanese at any rate, then, the religious workers must thoroughly master the available materials found in these great systems of thought and utilize them in a pedagogic manner. It is also important that we should know the nature of the social environment in which the average Japanese is brought up. When all these elements are mastered, we shall be able to formulate, backed by the knowledge of the essentials of the Christian teachings and the psychological understanding of the moral and religious development of Japanese children, some working principles as to the ideals and the methods of religious education for the Japanese.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

In the foregoing investigation of the typical conversion experiences of the Japanese Christians, our aim has been to analyse, with the aid of some valid conclusions of modern psychology, the actual situation in which the Christian character is given birth and matured. Our standpoint has been practical rather than theoretical, but practice without adequate theory is dangerous. Our method has been biographical and introspective, gathering materials from the experiences of arbitrarily chosen subjects who have undergone the religious transformation and have been converted to Christianity, and interpreting them in the light of the results of psychology and of the personal experience of the writer. Our cases are not those of sudden emotional alteration of personality, but those where slow regeneration has taken place by coming in touch with the exotic religion of Jesus Christ. The conversion experience, however, is not without its due preparation, for we have discovered that the majority of our converts had some degree of social and moral maturity. Christianity came to such individuals as the final stage of the social development in giving them the idealized personality in the conception of the Christian God, which was decidedly lacking in the ethnic religions of Japan. Our investigation has made the following points clear:

(1) The average Japanese youth of the middle class or above usually receives religious training according to the customs and habits of the community. The religious atmosphere, however, is never a pure one, containing all the constituent elements of Japanese religions. These customs in the religious training of children are more or less social in nature rather than strictly religious. It is the spirit of the community in partaking in the religious festivities which has the lasting influence upon the development of children. This communal or social aspect of the native religions is more clearly manifest in Shintoism than in others.

(2) The more highly educated class, however, seem to instruct their children according to the teachings of Confucius, and training of this kind usually emphasizes the moral aspect of life rather than the religious. The education in this case is largely intellectual, and often involves exaggerated discipline in memory and cognitive exercises. Conversion among this class of people is chiefly in terms of intellect, endeavoring to relate ideationally the teachings and the logic of Christianity with those which had been received in Confucianism.

(3) Conversion among the Japanese, moreover, assumes often the social aspect. This involves the process of imitation and suggestion, as in the case of ordinary revivalistic conversion. The respect for the Christian character, the influence of the conduct which exhibits a wealth of affection, of kind-heartedness, of manliness,—the sense of hero-worship, in other words, forms the stimulus and occasion for conversion into the religion of Christ. Sometimes the social process takes on a coercive character, involving often a conventional and formal performance of decision to accept the new faith. This process is more effective among emotionally inclined individuals. Conversion in such a case is a mere introduction to Christianity, and the religious reconstructions begin at this point with the aid of ideational means. Thus this type of mind is to be contrasted with the intellectual type, which reaches the process of conversion after this reconstruction has culminated. This may account for the fact that the cases of intellectual conversion are found among the older class of individuals.

(4) Conversion again may be experienced at a critical period of life. This may not be an evolutionary crisis of the organism, such as the period of pubescence. The crisis in our case means any serious incident in one's life, which gives a painful experience to the subject, such as sickness in the family, failure in business, etc. Religion in this case becomes largely a means of restoring the comfort to life, of promoting the welfare of both the individual and the family, and in this sense, religion may be regarded as a factor in the struggle for existence.

(5) Conversion brings forth as its fruit the new life, involving often complete change in the mode of behavior both physiological and psychological. This is due to the fact that the organism has developed and is capable of adjusting the behavior in such a way as is most beneficial to its highest attainment. The fundamental impulse again is the perfection of life process. This is the reason that conversion is often identified with what the theologians would call regeneration.

(6) To be more psychological in our attempt to interpret the conversion experiences of our subjects, we found first of all that the reason why they abandoned or rather outgrew the old ethnic religions and accepted or developed into the exotic religion of Jesus is primarily due to the fact that they saw in Christianity something bigger and more satisfactory to the increasing demand of their growing life. This something was found to be the supremely and perfectly idealized God whom

Christ had taught and exemplified. This concept of Personal Being was decidedly lacking in the ethnic religions of Japan.

(7) We have also seen the validity of the concept of the supernatural element in conversion. It has been argued by some psychologists that what is functioning in the mental life of a religious devotee is not the Personal God himself but only the idea of such. This has been further elaborated by saying that both imaginary and real objects of worship are psychologically valid, so long as they serve the function expected of them. By certain theologians, however, this point has been criticised more or less severely in recent years on the ground that the psychologists are apt to substitute for the thing itself its idea only, and that thereby they are denying the existence of God himself. This charge is not just, for we are concerned mainly with the subjective evidence of the existence of God, and not with the ontological speculation with reference thereto. As far as psychology is concerned, then, we are satisfied to see the function which God performs in life, that is, the actual influence of the belief in the Supreme Being, modifying the thought process as well as the motor manifestations of fundamental impulses, and such an evidence of the function of God is sufficient to convince us of its reality.

(8) This would lead us to the consideration of the psychological criterion of morality and religion. The confusion and sometimes a feeble attempt to distinguish these two phases of our higher life on the part of the religious psychologists, have sadly belittled the true significance of the religious consciousness. We have seen that both these states of consciousness are social in their inherent nature, and, therefore, a merely social criterion is insufficient. In the examination of our cases, we were compelled to regard the conversion experience as a process of development from the vaguely social and from the merely moral to the definitely religious consciousness, and the essence of the religious consciousness we have seen to consist in the presence of and the belief in the Supernatural Being who was the product of idealization as far as the individual's personal experience is concerned. In thus defining the religious consciousness we were forced to reconstruct the "Dialectic of Personal Growth" as expounded by Baldwin, and to add a higher stage which we call the *superjective* stage. The point of differentiation between the moral and the religious is reached when the moral comes to its idealizing stage where the object of social interaction is not only the visible human being, but also the idealized perfect being which is greater and more satisfying than human personality.

(9) On the practical side of our discussion, we have found that the more thorough training of missionaries in the science of missions was a necessity. The ignorance and sometimes the hostility exhibited by missionaries toward all forms of ethnic religious practices and concepts account for the apparent tardiness with which the propaganda of the Christian religion in foreign lands is being carried out. A careful study of the ethnic religions will give the actual workers a clue to their enterprise, and a more economical and desirable effect will be produced. The training of missionaries must take cognizance of the principle here derived in order to reap maximum results. It is also necessary to change in some cases the standard of selection of missionaries on the part of the Mission Boards.

(10) With reference to the religious education of the Japanese, we found that the native training in religion and morals has some value especially for the younger children, although Christian materials must supplement it by giving fuller meaning and a more wholesome standpoint. The agencies which now exist in Japan for Christian religious education are the mission school, the Sunday School and the kindergarten. These institutions, though yet unscientific, are beginning to realize the necessity of carrying out their work in harmony with the results of modern sciences. Our investigation has emphasized the situation by pointing out the necessity of studying more psychologically the apperceptive mass of the Japanese children, and when this is done, we may be able to devise a helpful plan of religious education for the Japanese, in the light of all the elements involved in the educational situation of Japan.

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